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Investigating Space and Subjectivities of Emirati Female Graduating Students in a Neoliberal City

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Declaration of Publications

Elements of the work presented in the Introduction chapter of this thesis have been published in a peer reviewed academic journal.

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Declaration of authenticity for doctoral theses

I hereby declare that this thesis, submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education, contains no material previously published or written in any medium by another person, except where appropriate reference has been made

Abbreviations

ACS……	Arab Cultural Studies
BERA …….	British Educational Research Association
DWC……..	Dubai Women's College (an all-female vocational/technical college in the system of the Higher Colleges of Technology)
GCC……	Gulf Cooperation Council: Political grouping of Arab Gulf States (United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Sultanate of Oman, Kuwait and Qatar)
HCT……	Higher Colleges of Technology, a "system" of vocational/technical colleges with separate Men's and Women's campuses at 16 sites in urban centres across the UAE. HCT offer Applied Bachelor Degrees in a range of fields – Applied Media, Business, and Computer and Information Sciences, Education, Engineering and Health Sciences.
HE……..	Higher Education
HEI……	Higher Educational Institution
IFSVR……	Integrated Framework for Visual Social Research
UAE……	United Arab Emirates

Glossary of Terms

Abaya……..	Black cloak worn over clothes. Part of women's national dress in the GCC
Asli……..	Original – referring to ethnicity and "purity" of ethnicity
Arabian Gulf……..	Also known as the Persian Gulf – body of water between Iran to the north and the Arabian Peninsula to the south
Arab Gulf States……..	Geographical term that refers to United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Sultanate of Oman, Kuwait and Qatar
Ayeb……..	Shameful, embarrassing
Bedouin/Bedu……..	Semi-nomadic Arab tribal groups, desert/inland dwellers
Dhow……..	Sailing boat
Ghutra……..	Headdress of cloth and cord to keep in place. Part of men's national dress in the GCC
Hal Bahar……..	From the sea
Halal……..	Allowed in Islamic Jurisprudence
Hadr……..	Settled: coastal dwellers
Haram……..	Prohibited in Islamic Jurisprudence
Kandura……..	Long tunic worn by Gulf Arab men, usually white. Part of men's national dress in the GCC
Khaleeji……..	Belonging to the Arab Gulf States, or Arabian Gulf region
Nabati poetry ……..	Vernacular poetry of the Arabian Peninsula based on dialects of Arabic found in this region
Niqab……..	Full-face covering worn by some Arab Gulf women
Rabee'a/Rabee'at……	Girl friend, sister, buddy (singular/plural)
Rabee'athood……..	Neologism coined by Alzeer (2018a) to describe a fraternal, tribal, sisterhood from the terms *Rabee'a/Rabee'at*
Shayla……..	Black scarf worn with abaya Part of women's national dress in the GCC
Souq……..	Market – open or covered
Vision2021……..	UAE Government document issued in 2010 around the 40th Anniversary of the founding of the UAE. Also called UAE National Agenda. Both a rhetorical and political document, that sets outs a "mission statement" for the nation to achieve by 2021, the 50th anniversary of the founding of the UAE.
Yanni……..	Filler word or utterance of hesitation. Similar to 'you know' or 'like'

PART 1

ORDINARY AFFECTS

The ordinary is a shifting assemblage of practices and practical knowledges, a scene of both liveness and exhaustion, a dream of escape or of the simple life. Ordinary affects are the varied, surging capacities to affect and be affected that give everyday life the quality of a continual motion of relations, scenes, contingencies and emergencies. They're things that happen. They happen in impulses, sensations, expectations, daydreams, encounters and habits of relating, in strategies and their failures, in forms of persuasion, contagion and compulsion, in modes of attention, attachment, and agency, and in publics and social worlds of all kinds that catch people up in something that feels like something.

Kathleen Stewart
(2007, p.1)

THE MALL

It is a Saturday. The shopping mall is busy. She is in the iStore looking wistfully at iPads. She moves to the back of the store to choose a phone cover, hers has cracked. She likes the green one. She senses someone approach behind her. She turns – an Emirati woman she does not recognise – and smiles, this has happened before.

––Salaam aleikum
––Aleikum salaam

The woman starts talking, fast, excitedly.

––I'm Suad, you were my teacher in Diploma at College in 2002. I finished a Bachelor's degree at AG University, now I work in the Ruler's Office and you know, most of the employees are ladies and I have a Masters' degree

Suad waves vaguely towards an Emirati man at the other end of the store. He smiles at them.

––My husband … thank you Miss, you helped us so much

Then Suad is gone. She buys the green one.

Aleya
Dubai April 2016

Abstract

Situated at the confluence of Public Pedagogy and Cultural Studies (Giroux, 2004), specifically in the nascent field of Arab Cultural Studies (Sabry, 2011), this thesis aims to locate quotidian practices within a broader socio-cultural politics and demonstrate the ways in which the processes/production of subjectification are (re)constituted in deeply contextual ways. Utilising an interdisciplinary blend of theory/method (Hall, 1992) I investigate how Emirati female students, at the same point of their educational journey but at greatly differing stages of their lifepaths, navigate a multiplicity of subjective positions moulded by the public forces of state-backed women's empowerment, urban dynamics, and culturally-gendered norms and expectations. I interrogate the ways in which ten Emirati women students, on the cusp of graduation from their undergraduate studies, configure their lived spaces as family members (wives, daughters, sisters), friends and students, and how multiple, often contradictory subjectivities emerge.

Backgrounding the study are the dominant discursive trajectories of an authoritarian neoliberal state (Bruff and Tansel, 2018) and the reworking of identity formulations (Jones, 2019) in an Arab nation undergoing a cultural renaissance (Mazawi, 2007). These discourses are adumbrated by the effects/affects of precarity and privilege (Al-Qasimi, 2020). Dubai, conceptualised as a worlding city (Haines, 2011) provides both the spatial and ideological site of the lived experiences of the study's participants. I deploy notions of spatiality and subjectivity (Probyn, 2003) as theoretical starting points to probe the experience of the everyday. My enquiry eschews pre-imposed constructs of gender, culture or identity. Rather, using feminist post-structural underpinnings, I theorise the quotidian using embodied geographies (Davidson and Milligan, 2004) and affective practices (Wetherell, 2012) to situate Emirati women students' experiences. The research findings coalesce around three key thematics – *Being Emirati*, *Inhabiting* and *Learning* – to reveal how discursive-affective practices operate as biopolitical technologies of regulation, representation, control and mediation and through the assemblage of mind/body/brain as pedagogical forces (Ellsworth, 2005). This research contributes to our knowledge of Emirati women students' subjective meaning-making, evidencing it as diverse and complex, in a

challenge to the binary dualisms of modernity/tradition frequently ascribed in this context. Instead, this research conceives of Emirati women students imbricated in a process of becoming, in constant motion and negotiation as social change powered by modernising developments and globalisation sweeps through Emirati society.

A lack of expatriate/Emirati interaction outside of the classroom, results in expatriate educator's limited comprehension of the intricate workings of Emirati society, frequently materialising in simplistic generalisations and damaging stereotypes. This thesis responds to this problematic dynamic through the deployment of a public pedagogy approach with the intention of developing a heightened awareness of the particularities of Emirati women students' lives within a wider cultural politics (Francombe, 2011). The study demonstrates the cogency of such a methodological approach in this context, indicating that education is, for Emirati women students, a deeply inter-subjective relational and transformational practice (Biesta, 2010). It contributes to educators' knowledge and understandings of students' everyday lives, thus informing academic practice and allowing faculty to tailor their pedagogical praxis in ways that will complement and extend students' educational experiences.

1 Introduction

1.1 Scope of the Study

This thesis responds to calls from Arab Cultural Studies (ACS) scholars to initiate a critical research agenda that interrogates socio-economic inequalities of power, patriarchy and authoritarian forms of governance and how these play out in contemporary Arab lives (Sabry, 2011; Matar, 2012; Valassopoulos *et al.*, 2012). ACS interrogations should prioritise the situated specificity of local contexts and perhaps even drop the prefix "Arab" (Valassopoulos *et al.*, 2012). To do this, requires a discursive shift away from formulaic dualities (modern/traditional; religious/secular) and preconceived essentialisations of nation, culture, religion and gender that percolate through current debates (Dailey, 2017). As such, this thesis is grounded in conceptualisations of feminisms and everyday pedagogies as set out by Luke (2009) and Huckaby (2009). I aim to illustrate the ways in which the diffuse and contextually specific assemblages of cultural practices, products, discourses, pedagogies and technologies relating to notions of "Emiratiness" produce public pedagogies and embodied affective responses that speak to the interplay of political, economic, social and technological impulses that 'cultivate and secure' the subjectivities of young Emirati women (Francombe, 2011).

I do this through an exploration of the everyday lives of Emirati students who identify as female and are on the cusp of graduation from tertiary education in Dubai. Henceforth, I refer to this group as Emirati women students, acknowledging that this is a fluid subject position. Using theories of subjectivity, spatiality and affect alongside conceptions of urban Dubai as an im/material discursive entity, I tease out, through research agitations, an engagement with discourses of neoliberal feminisms, gender, national identity/community and Otherness. This is done through the utilisation of qualitative methodological strategies as interventions/excursions into/through Emirati women students' positions of privilege and precarity (Al-Qasimi, 2020).

In order to give sufficient emphasis to the peculiarities of the specific context the thesis is structured as two distinct parts: the first three chapters are an analytical synthesis of the distinctive historical, sociocultural and methodological

underpinnings of the study; chapters four to six are discussion chapters, each focussed around themes that emerge from the data, *Being Emirati, Inhabiting* and *Learning*. Chapter seven closes the thesis drawing with concluding thoughts as to how (expatriate) educators of both Emiratis and non-Emiratis in HE in Dubai could, and should leverage these findings in light of contemporary global issues.

I see the invitation of corporeality, everyday politics and public pedagogies into educational research in the Emirati locale as an initiation of a particular ontological/epistemological position in this context. I view this thesis as a starting point for discovering, through lived experiences of Emirati women, alternative points of departure for analytical investigations into relations of power and formations of subjectivities that have yet to be explored and theorized. Indeed, from here I conceptualise further research that will demonstrate

> how private issues are connected to larger social conditions and collective forces – that is, how the very processes of learning constitute the political mechanisms through which identities are shaped and desires mobilized, and how experiences take on form and meaning within and through collective conditions and those larger forces that constitute the real, the social (Giroux, 2004, p.62),

Sitting at the nexus of ACS and public pedagogy, the rationale behind the research is to underscore the critical influence of the informal curriculum, extending our understandings of what counts as pedagogical and where/how learning happens (Ellsworth, 2005). Set against a backdrop of rapid social change in Dubai and government policies which actively promote women's "empowerment" through education and active participation in the workforce, the thesis aims to expose the role of affect and embodied geographies in the operationalisation of hegemonic discourses as they relate to Emirati women students' gendered subjective meaning-making.

As a text, this thesis is not an attempt to judge or interpret people or texts but an effort to convey how everyday lives are moulded and enunciated by/with culture, to describe how people are dis/empowered by structural forces which organise lives, frequently in contradictory ways and to show how everyday life cannot escape the trajectories of economic and political power (Grossberg, 1997). I see the thesis as a conversation between the context, the empirical, the theoretical and the embodied.

Through these dialogues the lives of ten Emirati female students, my research group of participants are shown to be subject to both privilege and marginalisation, and I demonstrate how their lives are managed and learned through the discourses of gender, national identity, authoritarian neoliberalism and the cultural Other, all of which are coloured by culturally-conceived heteronormative, heteropatriarchal norms (Al-Qasimi, 2020). Making sense of 'their own lived subjectivities in accordance with or against dominant discourses' (Francombe, 2011, p.23) this study reveals the interdependence of relationships between operations of governance at macro and micro levels thus exploring broader culture through the particularities of the quotidian (Francombe, 2011).

1.1.1 An ethical space

Resisting tendencies of monolithic generalisations (Zine and Taylor, 2014) and having experienced my own crisis of representation (Ellis *et al.*, 2008), I remain cognizant of broader structural issues that suffuse the work of expatriate academics/researchers in the UAE. These include: the requirement for self-censorship and the discrepancies between the "freedoms" of expatriate and Emirati academics (Amnesty_International_UK, 2018); the role and implications of mainly expatriate academics at the forefront of social science research in Emirati HE environment (Gergani and Shaer, 2015); the role of English as a medium of instruction (Buckingham, 2017); the importation of educational models in a globalizing, educational marketplace (Willoughby and Badry, 2017) and, as a result of all of these, the side-lining of indigenous knowledges.

Researcher positionality in the UAE's academic context then, requires a determinedly 'methodological self-consciousness' (Said, 1978, p.308). Following Stonebanks' (2014) lead on the use of Islamic perspectives on knowledge, knowing and methodology, I conceptualize myself as a teacher-researcher, acknowledging and celebrating my own voice within the text but remaining conscious of the need to be vigilant in how I represent the people I speak for. As a starting point I assert that there is a multiplicity of Emirati women's voices, embodying a diversity of opinions, approaches and attitudes that have not always been heard. I thus intend to theorise out from differences within a specific group or community rather than apply analytical constructs to them. I aspire to

> forge a space … in which detail is as important as theory, in which human agency is described and recognized, and in which voices from the field, my subjects of observation, are engaged by researchers as their equals in human dignity and thus as co-producers of valuable knowledge (Tomaselli, Dyll and Francis, 2014, p.8).

I have aimed to interrogate constraints/freedoms and the in-between, and to ethically represent my participants. In essence 'coming to understand selfhood historically and socially [through academic study] may not be just to know something new; it may be to acquire a new form of self ' (During, 2005, p.46).

1.2 Me, Myself, Dubai

Research Diary Dubai - 15th December 2020

Final adjustments to thesis.
Malayam and Tagalog voices outside the window; Sinhalese chat show in the kitchen; Arabs, Africans, Indians, Bengalis and Nepalis approaching mosque opposite - midday prayers. At the back of the house - children in the swimming pool - English, Arabic and Hindi voices. Own narratives of space/time; we live together:::apart; discursive and material Dubai inscribes on us. Variously

Figure 1. Research Diary Entry, December 2020

Mundane and ordinary activities of daily life in Dubai – missing from the repertoire are the Emiratis, the citizens of this country. This simple fact makes the Arab Gulf countries unique in the world – the demographic imbalance between citizens and non-citizens (often termed as expatriates) exemplified by the preponderance of migrant workers, at all societal levels. I am/was one of them, whose professional life, in contrast to most Dubai expatriates, was entangled with the Emirati community. Over two decades I taught around 5,000 Emirati female students – approximately 5% of Dubai's female Emirati population. But for twenty years, bringing up a family in Dubai, I lived with the spectre of temporariness (Ahmad, 2017) and despite a strong place-

attachment (Rab Kirchner, 2016) I learnt to accept that my emotional attachment to Dubai could only be temporary. I was indelibly impressed with an absence of belonging and meaningful social inclusion. I left in 2017 and now feel love/anger towards Dubai in equal measure. As these embodied motions creep up on me every now and then colouring my research, the process of inquiry and investigation helps me come to terms with my conflicting sentiments (Ellingson, 2017).

This thesis tells a story of Dubai – a material and discursive entity – reinterpreted across space and time. Dubai is a city whose boundaries traverse the global, regional, national and the local, and in which the everyday is simultaneously globalised and localised. The story in this thesis interrogates this unusual context through the position of Emirati women students, asking questions of the relationships between Emirati citizens, the state and the cultural Other. It is a quest to uncover 'pedagogical regimes of subject formation' (Luke, 2009, p.130). It explores the affective impacts of spatial configurations and architectural constructions of the city as sites of learning, placing 'the learning self' centre stage (Ellsworth, 2005). It is a story in which my own and my research participants narratives are woven into a spatial-temporal web of interrelations and multiplicities constantly being made and unmade (Massey, 2005). However, as a feminist, post-structural study, the thesis makes no claims to painting the whole picture – this can only be a partial story (Luke and Gore, 1992).

1.3 Historical and Social Context of Dubai

1.3.1 Historical Background

Situated at the eastern extreme of the Arab world (Figure 1.), the UAE became an independent nation-state in 1971/72 when seven tribal desert emirates formerly known as the Trucial States/Oman, federated after the British withdrew their protectorate support (Duke, 2002). The UAE's system of governance, by a tribal monarchy can be described as an ethnocracy (Longva, 2005). Each of the seven emirates has a coastal city that the emirate is known by, and a desert hinterland, so for example, Abu Dhabi, is both the administrative capital city and the largest emirate. Dubai is the commercial capital of the UAE with a smaller hinterland that reaches to the Oman border.

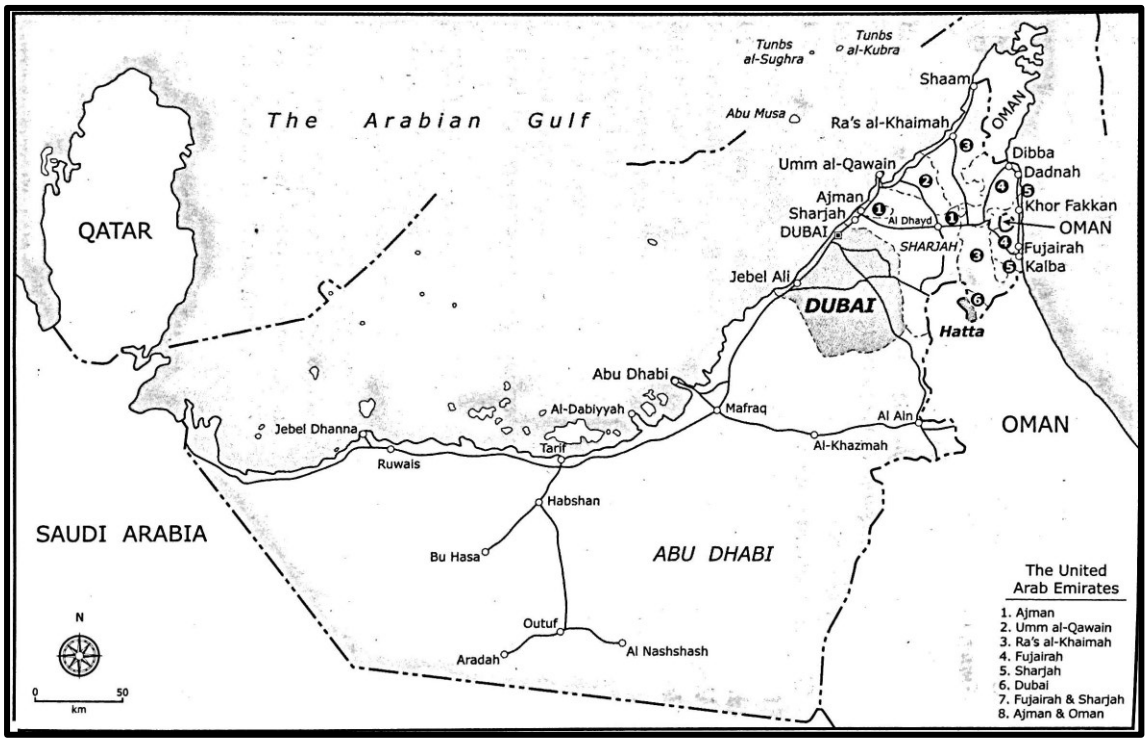


Figure 2: Map of the Arabian Peninsula (above) and the UAE (below)

Rulers made decisions immediately after the nation's formation to invest windfall revenues from recently discovered oil, into the country's infrastructure and development. This necessitated the importation of significant expatriate/migrant labour which has continued to increase over the past five decades, the most rapid influx occurring in the 2000s (GLMM, 2014). Recent estimates put the UAE's population around 9 million; of this, approximately 1 million are Emiratis – UAE citizens (GulfNews, 2016). The remaining 8 million are expatriate workers at all levels from multi-nationals CEOs, business executives and entrepreneurs and their families, through middle managers and administrators, to service workers in retail, hospitality, health and education, to the male migrant construction workers from the Asian sub-continent (Ali, 2010). Ethnically, classed and gendered demographic imbalances are found across Arab Gulf countries but the small indigenous population of the UAE makes it one of the most extreme (De Bel-Air, 2015). Demographic developments leave Emiratis as a minority group within their borders.

1.3.2 Dubai: The City

As the UAE's largest city, Dubai maintains multi-scalar identities encompassing: a global city-brand; a global/regional transportation and logistics hub; a global/regional tourist destination; the country's commercial capital; and home to a distinct Arabic dialect and a local citizenry. Dubai shares historical and social narratives with the *Khaleeji* region, benefiting from the accrual of oil wealth but with limited hydrocarbon resources, Dubai has forged an independent development path. Economic diversification is such that 94% of the emirate's income issues from alternatives to oil/gas revenues (Augustine, 2016).

The urban population of 2.6 million, includes over 200 nationalities (Emirates_24/7, 2016) and is the most "cosmopolitan" city in the world (IOM, 2015). Hence, Dubai's imbalance is significantly more acute than other emirates. 83% of the population is foreign-born (IOM, 2015) and only 8.6% or 230,000 are Emiratis (DSC, 2016). Disquiet surrounding demographic trends occasionally rises in the media (Tabbara, 2010) but acquiescence is largely guaranteed through a combination of economic, cultural and legal factors embedded in the ethnocratic governance system. This includes: a welfare system which distributes oil and other economic rent to ensure

social and economic security to Emiratis (Partrick, 2012); and an enduring attachment to the traditional tribal system that ensures monarchical loyalty and deference to the Rulers' decision-making (Rugh, 2007). Additionally, strict media laws have been implemented to suppress dissent and critique across all media and social media platforms (McBride, 2014).

1.3.3 The "Post-Oil" Generation

In the 2000s, Dubai transitioned from a moderately sized, moderately successful city to globally recognized Brand Dubai, encapsulated by hyper-spectacular architecture, grandiose real-estate projects open to foreign investment/ownership and ambitious infra-structure developments such as Palm Jumeirah and Dubai Marina (Haines, 2011). During this period of rapid development, construction was ubiquitous and constant as open desert was consumed by suburban communities, bridges and highways linked new nodes of the urban milieu creating new passageways through and throughout the cityscape (Nassar, Blackburn and Whyatt, 2014; Pacione, 2005) This growth trajectory has continued at a slightly less frenetic pace through the second decade of the millennium (Ewers, 2016). The remarkable nature of Dubai's transition has generated a wave of academic and general literature for English language readership, frequently with emotively charged titles imbued with judgment, incredulity and scepticism (see for example, Walters, Kadragic and Watlters, 2006; Davidson, 2008; Ali, 2010; Krane, 2010; Smith, 2010; Acuto, 2014; Smith, 2014).

However, for the Emirati women students participating in this study, continuous urban and economic growth was—and is—their normal. Their demographic are the 'post-oil' generation (Al-Qasimi, 2011), born post-1985 and whose life experiences contrast sharply with the previous two generations. These are Emiratis who have grown up witnessing as ordinary and self-evident excesses of consumption, perpetual urban expansion, an Emirati-expatriate demographic imbalance, and the resulting influx of values that sit in opposition to Emirati cultural and traditional norms. Al-Qasimi suggests that this demographic is directly subjected to a national collective imaginary of troubled state identity which strives to follow a Western-inspired trajectory of modernity and concurrently to maintain a distinct, authoritative Arab

Islamic heritage. She argues that responsibility falls heavily on Emirati youth to embody and preserve an authentic Emirati identity stating

> this responsibility comes with both power and subjugation … those who are in receipt of the state's privileges are simultaneously subordinated - subjected to discourses of cultural preservation that dictate the extent of acceptable transgression. Within this terrain, the post-oil generation is producing multiple discourses that challenge the very identity which they have been tasked to uphold (2011, p.286).

This suggests that the post-oil generation embody an experiential gap, a historical rupture between the past and present (Bristol-Rhys, 2010). This is relevant to this thesis, in that it is *women's* lives that have undergone the greatest transformation over the past two decades. Traditionally and culturally, Emirati society follows Islamic principles (Heard-Bey, 2005) with varying degrees of conservatism along tribal and familial patterns (Thesiger, 2007/1959). Since the turn of the millennium, women have become significantly more visible in the public sphere. This has come about as a coalescence of factors emerging from the state's drive towards modernizing Emirati society whilst presenting a positive global image. These factors include the ubiquity of job opportunities in the government sector; urbanisation; the massification of Higher Education; mobility afforded by car ownership; mobile communication technologies; the provision of safe public spaces (such as malls, restaurants and public parks); and the rise of Dubai as a tourist destination. Alongside these developments, the rising discourse of cultural threat and preservation emerged, culminating in the publication of *Vision2021* (Vision2021, 2010) a document that attempts to address the paradoxical identity issues of the nation by fusing neoliberal notions of modernity with cultural underpinnings of tradition, heritage and a national founding mythology. In practice, the oscillation between these contrasting philosophies means that although significant changes for women in Dubai have occurred, decisions related to some areas of their lives continue to be undertaken by male family members or the family group (Partrick, 2012). As Al-Qasimi (2011) rightly points out, multiple subject positions are emerging out of this site and space of juxtaposed ideas, discourses and practices. A key contribution of this thesis is that it provides new insights into the ways in which Emirati women students may challenge, acquiesce to or subvert cultural norms and discusses the implications of this for their subjectivity formation

and educational experiences. This new knowledge can be used by educators to improve their understandings of how and in which ways Emirati women students' learning is affected by the environment outside of the classroom and for educators to consider and modify their pedagogical practices.

1.3.4 Introducing Emirati Women

1.3.4.1 A Feminism of Difference

Feminist research in the Arab region has long been problematized from within for imposing universal and external conceptions of empowerment and equality (Findlow, 2013). Ftouni (2011) identifies two strands of critical feminist scholarship in the Arab world: the reactionary, which reclaims Islam as an emancipatory movement for women (Mernissi, 1991; Mahmood, 2005) and the deconstructive, that deploys a post-modernist critique which advances hybridity, third-space and syncretism (Zayzafoon, 2005). Accepting strengths from each approach, Ftouni (2011) however, forwards a feminism of difference within ACS, in which her feminist sensibilities lean towards notions of becoming rather than being. Drawing from Deleuzian nomadic thought, *processes* of subject-forming, one's identities across space and time, and affinities to variations of ideas are prioritised over the sameness of fixed foundations or original identities (Ahmad, 2017) indeed 'forms, foundations and identities are said to be in a constant state of becoming' (ibid., p.21). This stance informs my research in that I consider the everyday lived experiences of Emirati women through processes of subject-self formation and instantiation of becoming through women's beliefs and practices in their diversity and multiplicity. My approach resonates with those transnational feminists whose research attends to and celebrates a joyous complication of difference that challenges universalizing discourses and globalizing processes. Furthermore, in attending to the production of difference through the interrelationships of discursive traditions and processes (Ahmad, 2017) helps me explore the interplays and tensions between modernity/feminism/nationalism and their articulation with identity and patriarchy (Grewal and Kaplan, 1994). Emirati women students' own meaning-making is complicated by such discourses rooted in long-standing religious/cultural social structures emerging from traditions and interpretations of a conservative (but not extreme) Sunni Islam (Heard-Bey, 2005).

1.3.4.2 The Politics of Representation

Although Emirati women are avid users of social media (El-Sayed, Firoz and Dzamtoska, 2015) it is largely through online/paper-based English-language news media that non-Arabic speakers are introduced to imagery of Emirati women (Carvalho Pinto, 2019). Emirati newspapers frequently publish stories highlighting exceptional, extraordinary Emirati women achievements– breast cancer specialists, Olympic sportswomen, fashion and jewellery designers, opera singers, ice skaters and explorers (The_National, 2019). Here, Emirati women are mobilized as symbols of a modernising nation-state; female empowerment/emancipation discourses collaborate with nationalist narratives (Grewal and Kaplan, 1994). Conversely, Western media present extraordinary Emirati women in stories of suppression, subjugation and escape (BBC_Trending, 2019; McKernan, 2019). I argue that both types of media portrayal are inherently problematic; these generalisations of extraordinariness depict extremes at each end of a wide spectrum. The UAE media tends to draw from the wealthiest elite or those with one foreign-born parent while Western media tends to perpetuate a homogenous image of women's lives across the Arab Gulf, often lacking differentiation between specific sites conflating women's lived experiences in, for example, Saudi Arabia, with those in the UAE. Although injustice and inequality no doubt occurs, my research discloses that neither the trope of suppression nor exceptionalism-nationalism speaks to the everyday lived experiences of the majority of Emirati women students.

Given that educators in UAE tertiary institutions are at the centre of promoting the synthesis of modern-traditional (McClusky, 2017) or tribal-modern (Cooke, 2014) renditions of Emirati women in the post-oil generation, I undertook this research in the belief that it is important to understand more about the nuances that permeate the lives of the students we teach. This research therefore challenges notions of syncretisation or hybridity and the binary dualisms that permeate current representations in order to draw out the complexity of Emirati women's subjectivities. My interests are not in the extraordinary but in the lived, embodied experiences of ordinary Emirati women, specifically of Dubai, and to consider processual ways of conceptualizing subjectification, conceptually framed as becoming. Therefore, one of the central objectives of this research is to move away

from incidental, generalized student behaviours, and to build up a discussion around the contextual assemblage of socio-historical, socio-political and socio-cultural relations that impact upon Emirati women's sense of self, their educational expectations/aspirations and meaning making. It is incumbent upon us as researchers to investigate these subjective experiences in order to understand the way that power is created, reconstructed, reconstituted and contested in affective and discursive ways over the course of Emirati women's everyday lives. The material and immaterial cityscape with its striated layers of apartness and inherently unequal social relations contributes to this. Using the public pedagogy approach, my thesis aims to demonstrate that a more nuanced understanding of the lived experience of students can shape and help support a better-informed pedagogical practice, for

> subjects are created in multiple positionings in material and discursive practices, in specific historical conditions in which certain apparatuses of social regulation become techniques of self-production (Walkerdine, 1995, p.325).

1.4 Organisation of the Thesis

The thesis covers multiple foci as I engage in the effort to uncover and theorise contingent relations within the cityscape of Dubai meeting the need to locate Emiratis women's lives from the scale of localised everyday practices to global imaginaries and to place centrally in an assemblage of multiplicitous and often contradictory biopolitical disciplinary discourses. As such, multiple dialogues are ever present between the multifarious interdisciplinary strands of thought that permeate the enquiry.

Chapter 2. Theory and Context: Space and Subjectivity interweaves context, theory and method amalgamating elements of a literature review, with the enquiry's contextual and the theoretical underpinnings. The chapter is framed with a discussion around the particularities of public pedagogy which this thesis deploys, introducing Ellsworth's (2005) notion of the learning self and a post-structural feminist epistemology. The chapter continues with a deliberative analysis around specificities of neoliberal governmentalities within the Emirati context and sets out the intertwining of cultural and neoliberal discursive messaging. Emirati women are

brought into the socio-political frame with a consideration of the ways in which an idealised version of a "modern-traditional Emirati woman" (Mazawi, 2007) is tasked with upholding the critical cultural values of the nation. Al-Qasimi's (2011) conjecture of a subject of privilege and subjugation are developed here as she furthers the concept, bringing in notions of indebtedness, duty and symbolic indenture (Al-Qasimi, 2020). She importantly forwards the notion of a folding of the biopolitical relationship between state and citizen into one of affect. Nevertheless, both Mazawi and Al-Qasimi's critiques remain at a theoretical level leaving open the question of whether and/or how these affective and subjective meaning-making processes actualise. I make/take the decision to use spatiality to investigate Emirati women students's lived experiences and subjectivities, and review concepts of spatiality, embodiment and affect drawn predominantly from feminist thinkers and geographers. This continues as a theory/context dialogue through spatial theorisation of the urban cityscape of Dubai which aims to reveal the urban conditions under which research participants grew up. Out of this theorisation I posit a set of guiding questions and a direction of research .

Chapter 3. Methodology sets out the rationale and justification for the methodological choices I have made and a detailed explication of the research design. It also verges into the personal as I incorporate a more reflective/reflexive approach to writing as way of ensuring the quality of the research, to demonstrate the openness of my research practices and to ensure confirmability for the interpretative and necessarily subjective nature of the feminist poststructural position that I assume. I formulate some emergent thematic findings from data analysis that I depict as a conceptual model. The model reflects the organisation of three discussion chapters. Through each chapter, I seek manifestations of relational power/resistance that demonstrate how Emirati women navigate their social and cultural environment: I refer to this as *becoming*.

Chapter 4 Being Emirati coalesces around understandings of national identity in the form of "Emiratiness" and in/of relations between Emiratis themselves. The traditional inscriptions of Being Emirati women brings into play broader political, social and emotional essences of nationality and nationhood (Davidson and Milligan,

2004, p.527). This chapter interrogates the effects of spatio-temporal transformations and considers shifting modes of self-regulation as authoritarian neoliberal urbanisms become more deeply embedded in the globalised cityscape of Dubai. Understanding this interpellation elucidates the ways in which Emirati women's lived experience is inherently gendered in contextually specific ways.

Chapter 5 Inhabiting interrogates the ways Emirati female students experience, through their embodied sense of self, the inter-cultural flows in Dubai. It is here that privilege, power and entitlement visibly surface against a backdrop of cultural peril and precarity (Al-Qasimi, 2020). Three sections of *Inhabiting* navigate the cityscape from the domestic environment, through the local community and into the broader multi-cultural landscape. It is from this chapter that it is possible to witness the salience of an affective-discursive methodology as a cultural politics of emotion (Ahmed, 2004) evidences a depth of feeling that the corporeal cultural Other evokes.

Chapter 6 Learning uses Ellsworth's (2005) concept of the learning self to consider the role of studying and working in Emirati female students' lives. Bringing together the thesis as a coherent whole, incorporating space, subjectivity and learning, this strand of life experience is evidenced as central to participants' subjective selves. Study and work ascribe individual meaning and self-hood to this group affirming individual identities with meaning outside the kinship group. Comprehension of Emirati female students' learning selves' garners insight into the ways which Dubai operates as a site of public pedagogy.

Chapter 7 Conclusions ends the thesis with provocations for the future of pedagogy in the UAE. I take this opportunity to reflect on how a study which brought together space, subjectivity and learning through an investigation of everyday practices can inform pedagogues as to engender more collectively inscribed educational relations. In order to do so, I suggest a speculative affective methodology, imbibed with an ethics of care, a posthuman politics of higher education and the embedding of emotions and affect as a springboard for securing a collective future.

2 Theory and Context: Subjectivity and Space

2.1 Crafting a Research Framework

This chapter draws together interdisciplinary, psychosocial and intersectional research to set out the theoretical bases and contextual underpinnings of the thesis. It interrogates the relationality between changing forms of political organisation, social relations, cultural practices *and* shifting modes and experiences of subjecthood and subjectivity (Gill, 2008). Issues of power, ideology and agency emerge. To date there has been limited exploration of this relationality in regards to Emirati women students' experiences of living and studying in Dubai and the way that

> culture relates to subjectivity, identity or lived experiences of selfhood. We know almost nothing about how the social or cultural "gets inside" and transforms and reshapes … relationships to ourselves and others" (ibid., p.433).

Understanding what "gets inside" Emirati women students in Dubai is particularly complicated for expatriate educators because our experiences and understandings are regulated by the self-same technologies that discourage meaningful cross-cultural encounters between the Emirati community and expatriate educators outside of the classroom (Walsh, 2014). Everyday proximity on campus and social/pedagogical encounters in classroom interactions, does not always lead to constructive and critically aware understandings of the Other (Valentine, 2008). I argue it is incumbent upon us to be aware of the complexities and complicated emergent subjectivities, affinities and belongings of the students we teach. As such, we trouble our own pedagogical practices as imbricated knowledge workers in a globalising world (Ewers, 2016) dispensing particular formations of knowledge, in specific political and cultural contexts. Expatriate educators in Dubai play a role in power/knowledge relations, and with this comes a level of responsibility. Enlightening ourselves to our role in this relational nexus requires an interruption of ways in which we carry out our educative work. More specifically, this urges us to adopt a more reflexive approach to education in light of the infusion of authoritarian neoliberalism in the Emirati context. Incorporating understandings of public pedagogy into our own praxis is a way of doing this.

In order to concretise public pedagogy as a valid academic pursuit, distinct from socialisation and cultural reproduction, Burdick and Sandlin (2015) identify three discrete strands of public pedagogy. My inquiry falls into their second strand – *Affect and the Aesthetic: Relation as a Pedagogical Process* – which draws extensively from the feminist poststructural genre of educational writing (Lather, 1992; Pillow, 1997; St. Pierre, 2000; Ellsworth, 2005; Pillow, 2015). In these writings, concepts of the self differ from critical pedagogy, those works embodied by Freire and much of Giroux's oeuvre that rely 'on a unitary notion of the self and on a traditional, linear view of the process of cognitive development' (Burdick and Sandlin, 2015, p.157). For feminist poststructuralists the concept of the self is one that is non-unitary and multidimensional, and critical learning fails to take place in straightforward, rational, or linear ways. Critical learning is messy and disorderly and occurs in movements in-between intervals of space and time, between that which is known and that the becoming of ourselves (Ellsworth, 2005, p.123) This affective strand of public pedagogy diverges from critical pedagogy in that it posits

> an alternative vision of critical learning—particularly that which occurs in sites free of the overarchingly rationalist aims of schooling—[and] focuses more on embodied, holistic, performative, intersubjective, and aesthetic aspects of pedagogy and sees learning as more tentative and ambiguous (Burdick and Sandlin, 2015, p.157).

Ellsworth contends that 'places of learning implicate bodies in pedagogy' suggesting that aesthetics of architecture, cityscapes, art, performance and design 'emphasise non-cognitive, non-representational processes and events such as movement, sensation, intensity, rhythm, passage and self-augmenting change' (2005, p.6). Ellsworth suggests that 'in these places…the experience of the learning self is invented in and through its engagement with pedagogy's force' (ibid., p.7). She considers a student, 'not as coincident with herself, but only her change' (ibid.) – the learning self is always in motion, is always becoming. These notions ground this thesis in the affective realm of public pedagogy interested, as I am, in the ways that the learning selves of Emirati women students can be affected by the assemblages of discourse and the cityscape.

Within this affective strand of public pedagogy, scholars have engaged with discourse as a means of apprehending subjectivity and relationality to demonstrate the prominence of intersubjectivity and decenteredness. Examples of this includes the use of concepts of relational and embodied geographies (Evans, Colls and Hörschelmann, 2011), affective assemblages and responses (Rich, 2011a; Rich, 2011b), and the interruptive potentials of place-making as a relational social and political process (Loopmans, Cowell and Oosterlynck, 2012). What links these works are notions of discursive and affective assemblages, always in-process, unfinished and fluid. They show that as people learn through public pedagogy, it is impossible to detach oneself from 'the local spaces which *mediate* the ways knowledge is experienced, valued and acted upon' (Rich, 2011a, p.76). They demonstrate the unpredictability of public pedagogies in that there is always the possibility of agency and resistance to dominant encultured narratives, as 'individuals may develop what Deleuze and Guttari call 'lines of flight' which move away from the particular surveillant assemblages which seek to organize them' (Rich, 2011b, p.14).

2.2 Discursive Flows in the UAE

2.2.1 Poststructural Research: Power and Discourse

Foucault's conceptualization of power is embedded in the poststructural thought that undergirds this strand of public pedagogy. Power is understood as existing in relations, not belonging to individuals (St. Pierre, 2000). Comprising four elements (Hughes, 2011) power (relations) can be seen as

a. a matrix or capillary
b. operating through disciplinary practices, regimes and techniques that cause self-discipline and self-surveillance
c. productive rather than repressive
d. co-existing with resistance

In this way of thinking, power is fluid and held by everyone (English, 2012) and analytical focus falls on the everyday ways in which power circulates, is deployed and utilized as opposed to a focus on structures, dominant institutions or elites (ibid.). This involves a move from considering the possession of power to exploring and critiquing the situated shifts of power/knowledge enacted by context and participants. My research focuses on the ways in which women are constituted as knowing subjects by power, discourse and knowledge within their social spheres but

also how women engage with power/knowledge through their own practices of resistance and techniques of power and discourse. Poststructural feminism is interested in discourse because of the ways it shapes reality and identity (ibid.).

> Discourse and their related disciplines and institutions are functions of power: they distribute the effects of power. They are power's relays throughout the modern social system (Bové, 1992, p.10).

Bové goes on to note Foucault's insistence that through the dispersion of power, fields of possibility are opened to us, formed of realms of action, knowledge and social being created by the institutions and disciplines via which we predominantly create ourselves. Power, according to Foucault 'regulates our forming of ourselves' (ibid., p.11) and therefore

> "Discourse" is one of the most empowered ways in modern and postmodern societies for the forming and shaping of humans as "subjects"…we might say that "power" through its discursive and institutional relays "subjects" us: that is, it makes us into "subjects" and its "subjects" us to the rule of the dominant discourses which are empowered in our society and regulate its possibilities for human freedom – that is, it "subjugates" us (ibid., pp.11-12).

An essential part of feminist poststructural work is the identification of these discourses in order to challenge and reconfigure taken-for-granted assumptions and discursive formations (ibid.). My research takes a lead from Foucault's illustrations of how discourses shift over time and reflect historical changes to consider how Emirati women may engage in possibilities of resistance to a dominant discourse (St. Pierre, 2000).

2.2.2 Identifying Discourses and Their Relays

This section identifies and situates discursive flows targeted predominantly at the Emirati citizen population of the whole of the UAE, not only Dubai - swirling discourses, fragmentary, incomplete and contradictory which together act pedagogically to speak a narrative of belonging, nationhood and neoliberal values of responsibilisation and productivity, of human capital as a defining force. These discourses frame the backdrop against which my analysis takes place.

The Emirati women students who are my concern in this thesis are impacted simultaneously at many levels in terms of their own subjectivity formation. At one level they are Emirati citizens, the targets of the flows of authoritarian neoliberalism and sociocultural discourses that bind them into a specific set of state-citizen relations. This comes with ethnically inscribed/prescribed cultural and traditional sets of behaviour. At a more localised level, Emirati women students belong to extended familial communities, and kinship groups, college communities, virtual communities and broader friendship groups and as such they are listening to and learning from these communities. At a simultaneously local and global level, this group of Emirati women students belong to the city of Dubai, a city with its own unique history in the UAE and currently, positioned as a worlding city. Finally, there is a set of gendered prescriptions that emerge in this context. It holds therefore that only an ascending analysis (Ettlinger 2011) that begins with everyday practices would be able to tease out these variegations that envelop Emirati women.

2.2.2.1 Being Emirati: Authoritarian Neoliberalism

Political theory scholarship has recently begun to shed more nuanced light on the nature of the relationship between the state, as embodied by ruling monarchies in the Arab Gulf and their citizenry (Herb, 2017). Earlier conceptions of rentier-state theory that posit political acquiescence in return for a strong welfare state and full employment did not predict the current trajectories of policy and discourse surrounding notions of the polity in Arab Gulf states. Authoritarian modes of governance, such as those in Arab Gulf states, are increasingly being seen to have a complex but convenient association with neoliberal capitalism (Ennis, 2019). In such a context, the designation 'authoritarian neoliberalism' (Bruff and Tansel, 2018) captures the 'logic and disciplining power of the discourse of neoliberalism alongside explicit economic policy choices' (ibid., p.60). Recent Arab Gulf scholarship has begun to embed qualitative methodologies that allow both for more informed insights and for conceptions of difference to emerge, for example, an understanding of citizens as entitled shareholders of oil wealth has led to reflections on the power dynamics between ruling families and citizens (Beaugrand, 2019). These reflections enable a more reflective understanding of the hostility to the integration of expatriates into Arab Gulf societies. Contemporaneous studies such as these, within a defined body of

work using the terminologies of authoritarian neoliberalism are cogent to this study as they relate directly to this research in the ways in which citizens become subjects, or vice versa. Using the lens of authoritarian neoliberalism, it is possible to identify strands of relevance to the becoming of Emirati women students.

Firstly, Arab Gulf ruling elites, aware of the weaknesses inherent in the rentier social contract, have used innovative modalities of social engineering to reconstruct the basis of their legitimacy (Jones, 2019). In the UAE, wholesale reframing of rights and responsibilities shifts away from rentier messages of early state nationalism, from

> ”Support us because of the good life we can provide you” to neoliberal nationalist messages such as “Work hard and contribute to your country because you love and owe it” and “Support us, not because we provide for you, but because you are citizens of this great country and we are its leaders“ (ibid., p.69).

Vision2021 reveals the ways in which these novel authoritarian neoliberal discourses are becoming embedded in the national psyche to mould and produce a different type of citizen (James, 2014c). Secondly, as these modalities are reframed, the role of Emirati women in society becomes explicitly and radically reformulated. Scholars tracking the role that women have played in the development of the UAE note how the empowerment of women has been used as a legitimising tool for the state (Mazawi, 2007; Krause, 2012). A feminist political economy (Ennis, 2019), shaped by discourses of authoritarian neoliberalism, is leveraged and rationalised and sheds light on emerging societal discourses.

Finally, spatial construction of the urban landscape in Arab Gulf contexts, can be viewed through this authoritarian neoliberalism lens, with Dubai at the forefront of urban landscaping (Hertog, 2017). As I argue in subsequent sections, spatial configurations of cities are key technologies of modern disciplinary power creating their own immaterial discourses. Spaces of the city speak to their inhabitants in novel modes of public pedagogy and the unravelling of these conversations makes it possible to sense their impacts. In this respect, spatial understandings of Dubai, provide the undergirding of this study as an affective public pedagogy project. Drawing from Ellsworth (2005) I conceptualise Dubai as:

- a physical entity, shaped by an architecture and cityscape dominated by authoritarian neoliberal edifice
- an immaterial entity moulded by authoritarian neoliberal discourses infused with contextual cultural notions of nationhood and belonging

Dubai becomes a pedagogical site, a spatial and temporal presence which enacts its properties on both its citizens and non-citizen residents and visitors. As such, the trails of authoritarian neoliberalism and their attendant discourses and im/material manifestations wend their ways through the research journey and are explored via Emirati women students words, thinking and spatial practices .

2.2.2.2 Being Emirati: The Discursive Nature of Vision 2021

The meshwork of discourses in *Vision2021* brings into circulation new imaginaries of state and subject that the Emirati population are exposed to. Composed in market-based neoliberal language *Vision2021* resembles a corporate mission statement, smooth and persuasive, detailing an aspirational, inspirational vision for the country (James, 2014c). Used as a guide to steer strategic policies at federal and emirate levels (government.ae, 2019), for example, departmental performance indicators in ministries and government organisations, *Vision2021* cannot be dismissed simply as a rhetorical document – it is a political document. It defines the ideal Emirati citizen, a "loyal productive citizen" (James, 2014c) or a "new patriot" (Jones, 2017) using two separate but intertwined discursive strands. The first is a discourse of patriotism, undergirded with rationalizations of legitimacy and allegiance articulated through exclusivity, gratitude, national identity and culture. The second is a discourse of neoliberalism rationalised and embodied through the entrepreneurial self and the knowledge economy (James, 2014c). At its core, these contrastive and competing subjectivities embody the texture of authoritarian neoliberalism in the UAE: a reduction of dependence on the state and sense of entitlement to forge an entrepreneurial, responsibilised attitude co-existent alongside allegiance, cultural exclusivity, exceptionality and the promise of an all-encompassing welfare state. These discourses of *Vision2021* are distributed and mediated into societal understandings to facilitate the conduct of conduct (Rose, 1996).

2.2.2.2.1 Defining Emiratiness

A singular notion of Emirati identity based upon the Bedouin histories of the ruling families is articulated throughout *Vision2021*. As such, an image of homogeneity across the nation is suggested, one which diminishes intricate differences between tribes and regions and underplays disparate ethnic and racial differences (Partrick, 2008). *Vision2012* bolsters ethnocracy

> The Federation will continue to rise in the national consciousness to represent the defining point of allegiance for all Emiratis. This sense of common destiny and of belonging will bind all citizens together in building their shared future (Vision2021, 2010).

Citizens are urged to 'reinforce their solidarity as a nation of citizens', to strengthen national identity through marriage between Emiratis and to contribute to the creation of 'cohesive' and 'tightly-bonded' Emirati communities (ibid. p. 4). The basis for inclusion into the ethnocratic community is shared descent (Longva, 2005) which has over the decades become progressively 'gendered, racialised, Arabised' (Ahmad, 2017). An ethnocracy of course requires domination through exclusion, and those who belong to the ethnocracy are imbued with a sense of power, purity and entitlement. This strand of messaging, defining Emiratiness, promotes an apartness from other communities who make the UAE a place of work and home. It conceptualises the Other, the non-Emirati, as fundamentally different human beings. These ideas are forwarded by Gray (2015) who argues that with the retreat of the state behind neoliberal economic policies, citizenship becomes more closely aligned to social spheres, than the political or economic as may be the case in Western nations. He argues citizenship is linked to culture and cultural preservation and that new discourses of Emiratiness stress 'the disciplining of the family life and the bodies of Emiratis themselves' (ibid., p.16) through strategies of compulsory national dress in public office and strategies of a procreative nature. In this thesis, I anticipate that ideas surrounding the discourse of exceptionalism may arise and am curious to witness its manifestations.

2.2.2.2.2 Responsibilisation

Vision2021 marks out the entrepreneurial self and responsibilises Emiratis putting them 'in charge of their path through life with the confidence to map out a productive

and fulfilling future for themselves and their nation' (Vision2021, 2010, p.2) *Vision2021* states that

> in their professional lives [Emiratis] will prove the route to success lies through personal commitment, dedication and a strong work ethic. Satisfaction and motivation will reward their self-reliance and initiative; their appetite for risk-taking will be fuelled by a vigorous entrepreneurial spirit (ibid., p.2.).

Within the document, the narrative tone and lexis define the ideal Emirati citizen as self-directed, active, well-rounded, skilled and productive. This ideal is framed as an unchallenged truth concerning the nature of humankind, an overt discursive practice that designates new modes for Emiratis to perceive, judge and conduct themselves (Lolich, 2011). Again, I am intrigued to know whether/how these ideas have been incorporated by Emirati women students into their sense of self. What is the interplay between the exceptionalism of Emiratiness and its incumbent entitlement (Ticku, 2017) and the notion of an active, entrepreneurial, productive being?

2.2.2.2.3 Gendered Messaging

Straddling the two strands of defining Emiratiness and responsibilisation is a gendered message. Crystal Ennis shows how the combination of state and market feminism in the promotion of private sector growth, diversification and women's development 'advances narratives of the state as reformer and underlines how policy agendas can be co-constitutive and mutually beneficial' (2019, p.61). Significantly, these narratives situate freedom and autonomy through dependence on capitalist processes rather than patriarchal systems (ibid.). As such *Vision2021* sketches out the centrality of women and their contribution to society

> Cohesive and prosperous families will form the cornerstones society, embracing the traditional values of marriage, continuing to empower women, and maintaining close ties between family members to ensure their rightful role in society.

> Respect for Emirati traditions will wholeheartedly support the emerging role of women and continue in helping them to achieve ever-greater empowerment in all spheres. Women will also gain greater opportunity to combine full participation in active life with the joy and fulfilment of motherhood. In pursuit of these noble goals, women will be protected against all forms of discrimination at work and in society (Vision2021, 2010, p.3).

These are powerful messages for the Emirati population. Whilst acknowledging the cultural and traditional values, a new central role for women is being forged for the development of the country. The state, as reformer becomes the protector and supporter of women making it almost impossible for more culturally conservative-minded Emiratis to challenge. As Ennis (2019) states, for Emirati women, state strategies are in this regard are mutually beneficial as the strong take up in education and employment by Emirati women shows.

2.2.2.3 Being Emirati: Culture, Gender and Education

Politico-economic re-imaginings and a changing UAE demographic has seen a re-engineering of national identity (Jones, 2019) that is embodied in *Vision2021's* explicitly outlined a code of conduct that incorporates the rights and responsibilities –apolitical, social and economic – that being Emirati entails. The project of reframing a cultural identity however, has been underway since the turn of the millennium. In 2008, designated as the Year of National Identity (Habboush, 2008), the term national identity became synonymous with Emirati cultural identity. Research into this re-conceptualisation of identity demonstrates how nation-building has occurred in the mould of 'imagined communities' (Anderson, 2006) and 'invented traditions' (Hobsbawn, 1983). Specific deployments of Bedouin history, heritage and tradition have been used to impart and create a sense of Emirati national cultural identity (Partrick, 2012; Alsharekh and Springborg, 2008). These include recreations and celebration of Bedouin lifestyle (Khalaf, 2002; 2008), the revival of sporting heritage – falconry (Koch, 2016), and camel-racing (Khalaf, 2000) – the semiotics of national dress (Khalaf, 2005) and historic national narratives (Lawson and Al Naboodah, 2008) all of which contribute to the assembling of the mind/body/brain (Ellsworth, 2005) to create a singular ensemble of Emirati culture (Partrick, 2012). As these re-articulations have occurred in the wider public sphere, more specific *pedagogical* examples can be identified; first, within the HE sphere has been mandating of Emirati Studies, aimed at providing grounding in Emirati heritage and culture, as a mandatory course at all government-funded tertiary level institutions (Al Sumaiti, 2014); and secondly, the foundation, in Dubai of two museological sites which seem to provide a bridge between the cultural heritages of the past with a contemporaneous and future-focussed touch of *Vision2021* – the Etihad Museum (Ghazal, 2017) and the Museum of the Future (Warner, 2020). This trend further strengthens the proposition of the

separation of being Emirati into two discrete spheres: the Emirati apolitical-economic subject, is conceptualised in the authoritarian neoliberal discourse; as a social subject, the privileges of citizenship are linked to culture and cultural preservation (Gray, 2015). HE is the site where the two spheres converge.

Where recent political theory scholarship that has prioritised state-society relationships, research in the HE sector has leaned towards an understanding of national identity and there is considerable literature to draw upon. Directly engaging with Emirati women students across the seven emirates in qualitative research formats, these have largely used frameworks of nation-building and culture. Societal change for women provides the foundation of this research (Findlow, 2007; 2013; Pinto, 2012; Schedneck, 2013). The use of English as the medium of instruction in HEIs has been critiqued (Hatherley-Green, 2012; Solloway, 2016; Dorsey, 2018) as a form of neo-colonialism but has alternatively been posited as a positive pedagogical decision that has emboldened and empowered Emirati women to operate seamlessly in all areas of life (Findlow, 2006; Shammas, McCleod and Altas, 2015). Differing conclusions have been reached over issues of cultural loss: on the one hand the imposition of Western and globalising values has been severely challenged (Haque, 2007; Khelifa, 2010); at the same time, other writers suggest that Emirati women confidently manage to negotiate a path between so-called tradition and modernity (Cooke, 2014; Al Sumaiti, 2014; McClusky, 2017). Identities that are intercultural are seen to be emerging in the HE spaces of Dubai (James and Shammas, 2013; James and McLeod, 2014; Moore, 2015; Shammas, 2018). These studies provide a solid basis for our understanding of conceptions of the sociocultural field and conceptions of national identity amongst Emirati citizens in general, particularly Emirati women students. Nevertheless, there are significant factors which differentiate my thesis from this field of work in HE.

The first of these factors is that they do not deploy an engagement with a public pedagogy stance and/or Arab Cultural Studies. Secondly, these studies differ conceptually, in their ontological and epistemological understandings of the self. The research described above is predicated upon concepts of "identity", the ways in which persons describe themselves to others (Barker and Jane, 2016). Additionally, this field

of research tends to focus on the self as a rationalised being, what Ellsworth defines as 'an identifiable self, a locatable point of view or subject position from which meanings are made and through which experience is organised and held together' (2005, p.7). I, however, am primarily interested in what it means to *be* a person as shaped by the specificities of this context and culture. My interest is less with the notion of identity (a labelling, identifying explanatory concept) than with subjectivity as a fluid, emergent process concerning 'the question of how we can be or become a subject of action and responsibility' (Winter, 2011, p.537). As I see it, identity encases from the exterior where subjectivity is conceived on the interior and is always in flux. In the next section, I detail how this plays out in my research.

2.3 Poststructural Feminist Research

Poststructural feminists see women as active partakers in their self-constitution (English, 2012, p.2) and work to allow women to rethink their modes of self-making and to perceive their multiplicity of (contradictory) subject positions (Fawcett, 2002). From this, emerges an understanding of difference and it is this trajectory of subjectivity constitution that I follow, adhering to Ftouni's (2011) call to follow such an approach within ACS.

2.3.1 The Role of Subjectivity

Subjectivity can be conceived as the combining of 'the lived human experience with the physical, political and historical context of that experience' (Ellis and Flaherty, 1992, p.1). Subjectivity research is multi-faceted with multiple aims: to slacken the constraints in social research that create a space between the emotional and the lived experience; to disentangle the complexities of the meshwork of emotion, cognition and the lived body; to connect social mores and conventions to feelings and to track temporal changes in these feelings; and a sense that emotions should emerge from the shadows of the private domain (ibid.). Such research situates our internal voices and corporeal feelings in relation to political, cultural and historical domains (ibid., p.4). Lived experience and subjectivity are necessarily interpretative given that lives are encumbered with plurality. Enmeshing interpretation into lived experience allows for a connection of our internal worlds with the social to formulate an understanding of subjectivity from within. A post-structural understanding of subjectivity is encapsulated in Table 1.

1. Experience of being a person is captured in the notion of subjectivity. Subjectivity is constituted through those discourses in which the person is being positioned at any one time. One discourse that contradicts another does not undo one's constitution in terms of the original discourse. One's subjectivity is therefore necessarily contradictory.
2. The concepts of the individual and the collective are not understood in terms of a dualism but are constituted through the multiple discourses available.
3. One can only ever be what the various discourses make possible, and one's being shifts with the various discourses through which one is spoken into existence.
4. Fragmentation, contradiction and discontinuity, rather than continuity of identity are the focus. However, continuity is recognised as existing but is as yet inadequately theorised.

Table 1. Subjectivity in the Poststructural (Davies, 1991 cited by Hughes, 2011)

2.3.2 Research with Emirati Women Students

How then, do I begin to consider Emirati women student's subjectivities and processes of becoming? I start with photographs (Figures 2. and 3.) depicting the Crown Prince of Abu Dhabi in August 2017 celebrating Emirati Women's Day at the Sea Palace on Abu Dhabi Island. The women pictured here represent all sectors – the armed forces, the arts, the sports world, small businesses, aviation, education, construction, architecture and engineering. I gaze at this picture and consider the interplays of power/knowledge, discourse and subjectivities, the disciplinary practices, regimes and technologies that affect these women and question the location of resistance, if it exists at all.

Whilst multiple discourses are implicated, the central focus is on a nation in renaissance encapsulated by empowered, entrepreneurial, professional women – 'a rendering of the politically-constructed "ideal-typical, modern-yet-authentic-Gulf-woman" (Mazawi, 2007). Mazawi's unpacking of this discursive frame offers a starting

Figure 3. Emirati Women's Day. 28 August 2017 (Al Mansoori, 2017)

Figure 4. Emirati Women's Day. 28 August 2017 (Al Mansoori, 2017)

point for my critique. He notes that educational and employment opportunities for Emirati women are entangled within multifarious practices influenced by the relations of power on which the state is founded. These operate through both the rentier state with its monopoly on the distribution of oil wealth and a nation-state

whose legitimacy rests on a patriarchal form of social organization (Al Hosani, 2012) and in tandem with dynamic transformation in regional and global economic, cultural and political spheres (Mazawi, 2007). Mazawi makes the case thus

> The official discourse on nation building and citizenship constructs women's subjectivities as part of salutary notions of a 'benevolent' nation-state and as part of a 'national identity' and 'cultural authenticity'. In this discourse, women are framed as culturally authorized or 'culturally devolved individuals who can (freely) pursue autonomous careers as productive agents of the nation by virtue of their degree [and] the academic and professional opportunities they are provided with (ibid., p.88).

Furthermore, he contends that through the constitution of the modernized Emirati woman, the hegemonic prevailing patriarchal system is re-inscribed through the work of HEIs yet softened with conceptual ideas of citizenship and participation to offset the tensions underpinned within contradictory elements of contrived subjectivities (ibid.).

Mazawi's argument pre-empted the publication of *Vision2021* in 2010 yet foresaw the direction of politico-social discursive strategy. However, his proposition remains within dualistic notions of personhood, the binary spectrum of modern against traditional and lacks engagement with the notions of authoritarian neoliberal strategies. My own initial conceptualisation of a 'loyal productive citizen' which re-imagined the Emirati citizen-subject and their entangled subjectivities embroiled in contradictory discourses of cultural and national allegiance alongside the entrepreneurial self (James, 2014c) did resonate in this new spatial-political imaginary but required significant refinement. More nuanced and sophisticated appraisals of state-citizen relationships have since been advanced (Beaugrand, 2019; Ennis, 2019; Jones, 2017; Jones, 2019) that investigate rentier-state relations, authoritarian neoliberalism and cultural formations, which theorise the political, economic and sociocultural spheres.

Nevertheless, a vital question remains as to *how* precisely, at an individual level, the pedagogical processes of becoming and being a citizen-subject (Burdick and Sandlin, 2015) actually occur. It is this question that has not been adequately addressed in

the literature, but one, which I assert, is a critical question for those educators who work with Emirati women students on an everyday basis. Returning then to notions of public pedagogy, I draw here from Ellsworth's *Places of Learning* (2005) in which she contends that pedagogy should not be conceived in relation to 'knowledge as a thing but to knowledge in the making' (ibid., p.1) and that 'it is in a sensing of ourselves in the making' that we should call learning (ibid.). Her book

> reconsiders pedagogy as the impetus behind the particular movements, sensations and affects of bodies/mind/brains in the midst of learning, and it explores the embodied experience that pedagogy elicits and plays host to: experiences of being radically in relation to one's self, to others and to the world (ibid. p.2).

Central to Ellsworth's alternative/experimental conception of pedagogy is the investigation of the experience of the learning self through the assemblage of mind/brain/body. As such, she challenges educators to consider pedagogy to be sensational - a time-and-space that assembles with learner's bodies in a network of inter-relational flows in material ways (ibid. p.27). Media and architecture become sites of pedagogy, but although they convey 'ideas, sensibilities, assumptions and … power relations…our experiences exceed merely reading or decoding their signs and meanings' (ibid., p.6). Indeed, our experience of these sites are material in nature, involving 'biological and molecular events' (ibid.) that cause affective sensations – pedagogical forces that focus on 'noncognitive, nonrepresentational, processes and events such as movement, sensation, intensity, rhythm, passage and self-augmenting change' (ibid.). An exploration of the qualities and elements of media and architecture that constitute pedagogical forces of learning reveal these qualities/elements simultaneously interacting informing and challenging each other whilst assembling with their user's learning selves. This pedagogical understanding of students speaks to the flows of the learning self, 'a learning self in constant change and dialogue with herself' (ibid., p.7). Ellsworth insists on bringing affect into the pedagogical frame and acting on her ideas enables a novel way of conceiving how the processes of becoming and being an Emirati citizen-subject might occur.

Published long after my I initiated my research journey, Al-Qasimi's (2020) complex essay has helped to coalesce ideas around the citizen-state relationship and affective

modalities. The salience, at this point, is in Al-Qasimi's outlining of 'how the structures of privilege and precarity give rise to the production of the indebted subject' in which 'the post-oil generation are situated in a relationship of indebtedness and inheritance to the post-oil welfare state' (ibid. p.64). This, she argues, is a relationship which extends beyond the economic and into 'the realm of affect and subjectivity' (ibid., p.69). She cogently situates the national Emirati biopolitical project through discourses of regeneration and reproduction. She shows how the former is enacted through the promotion of entrepreneurship backed by state funds and initiatives. Of the latter, she sees a state 'bent on reproductive futurity in the name of lineage and reproduction due to demographic imbalance' (ibid.) seen in the schemes to foster and financially support marriage between Emirati nationals. She evidences the clear demarcation of citizenry as traced by inclusion/exclusion and/or abjection as recipients of the state's benefits.

Her initial concept of the post-oil generation (Al-Qasimi, 2011) becomes subtler and more sophisticated. She sees the post-oil generation implicated in a sociocultural discursive framework symbolised by displacement and cultural peril where responsibility for the regeneration of an ailing populace lies with the youth. As such, the post-oil generation are at once the 'symbolic configuration of modern-nation state and the vessel of national anxiety' (Al-Qasimi, 2020, p.66). As rentier governmentalities provide citizens with state benefits, citizens become deeply immersed into relations of power and subjugation. The simultaneous condition of privilege and precarity gives rise to the indebted subject in both the affective and the economic domain.

Al-Qasimi notes that state-citizenry relations, the foundations of society are not grounded in the rights of an individual rights but in a familial basis – "kin contracts" – which assume all subjects are gendered, aged and familial subjects who commit to rights/responsibilities of the kin group. As the state is perceived as an extension of the family, mirroring relations of father and child a narrative of familial and state indebtedness builds up. The post-oil generation's relationship to the state becomes that of 'potential inheritance and debt where the nation gives the "gift" of indigeneity and expects of economic and reproductive return' (ibid., p.69). She states

> the relationship between the national youth and the state is one of duty and symbolic indenture. Thus their compliance not only shores up a vulnerable apparatus but further renders this generation responsible for repaying the debt incurred by building a post-oil economy (ibid., p.78) (ibid., p 78).

To summarise, we witness the Emirati post-oil generation embedded in a sociocultural setting framed by authoritarian neoliberal discursive strategies as outlined in *Vision2021.* Mazawi puts especial emphasis on the co-option of women into these frameworks under the guise of neoliberal feminism. Al-Qasimi charges that the post-oil generation has become complacent in a system that perpetuates the hierarchies of heteronormative, heteropatriarchal ancestral networks and tenets of privilege. They are, she declares, indebted subjects, 'folded into the national imaginary…in a moral economy of debt' (ibid., p.93). The linkage of reproduction and regeneration to a familial nation-state incorporates, in its essence, affective practices and corporeality. The body becomes, materially and ephemerally associated with knowledge in the making (Ellsworth, 2005) with the pedagogical forces of a learning self that is Emiratiness in the making. Yet Al-Qasimi does not differentiate between genders in her formulations of an indebted subject and so it remains open as to the ways in which this becoming unfolds. Emerging from this brief assemblage of concepts is both the foundational basis for researching through these ideas but also some specific gaps. Whilst we have notions of *what* is happening in terms of the configuration of Emirati subjectivities we remain unaware of how precisely *how* this happens. We are also ignorant of any specific differences that may emerge between genders, and of course, between specific individuals. Hence, following a poststructural feminist stance of constant engagement with difference, this thesis focuses on the learning selves of Emirati women students and their lived experiences of becoming.

2.4 Subjectivity and Spatiality

2.4.1 A Spatial Imperative

When a discourse becomes natural and normal, it becomes problematic to think or act beyond its boundaries (St. Pierre, 2000). For my research therefore I require, a sideways entrance Leonard and McKnight (2014), to enter obliquely into the worlds of these discursive framings and their subtle interplays of power/knowledge and

subjectivities. The deployment of spatiality appeared the most prescient way to do this. The spatial lens offers a means of approaching the often taken-for-granted assumptions of particular locations and of using the corporeal or physical world to contribute to knowledge ideas, concepts and theory alongside interaction, practice and activity (O'Toole, 2010). The spatial lens allows a critical engagement with the ways that power infuses social relations creating patterns of inclusion and 'Othering' (Johnson *et al.*, 2004).

2.4.2 Conceptualising Space and Subjectivity

A starting point for understanding that space is not neutral, but intensely political (Kuntz, 2010) is Lefebvre's spatial framework that conceives of space as both productive and relational (Lefebvre, 1991). Space, for Lefebvre is socially productive, continually in-process, contributing *to* human meaning-making, produced *by* meaning-making, and impossible to extricate from our material environment or embodied experiences. Our embeddedness in space as educational, social and political subjects, and spatial configurations around us shape how we are normalised, seduced by and produced by institutions and discourses (Cary, 2006). Doreen Massey forwards a vivacious, 'relational politics for a relational space' (2005, p.61) encompassed in three interlinking propositions summarised here

- Space is the product of *interrelations*; thus we must recognise space "as constituted through interactions, from the immensity of the global to the intimately tiny".
- Space is the sphere of possibility of the existence of the *multiplicity*; that is space "as the sphere in which distinct trajectories exist; as the sphere therefore of coexisting *heterogeneity*".
- Space is always under *construction*; it is always in the process of being made. It is never finished; never closed. (Anderson, 2008, p.228)

Massey's propositions interlocking spatiality and temporality seem especially pertinent in Dubai, a city under construction, with a multiplicity of diverse cityscapes and the product of multi-scalar interrelations, global, regional, national, local. Dubai's social change mirrors these themes. Emirati women student's knowledge is mediated through both 'spatial and temporal ways of knowing' (Kuntz, 2010, p.148), in relation

to historical factors which may have been included, excluded, reconstituted, rewritten or omitted. Returning to Ellsworth's learning self (2005), meanings, narratives and representations of the past included in present day discourse are part of knowledge in the making, and as such become pedagogical forces which relate to the construction of contemporary subjectivities and thus constitute worthy lines of enquiry.

To understand the interconnections of subjectivity and space three foci can be identified as pertinent to this exploration: firstly, subjectivities are performed in and through space; secondly, subjectivity is couched in *the materiality of our bodies*, in *everyday lived experiences* and in *sites*; finally, subjectivity, is political in its essence, with the politics interconnecting space and everyday experiences (Longhurst, 2003). The following section outlines some potential ways of embedding these theoretical ideas into my research thinking regarding Emirati women student's subjectivity formation as evidenced through spatial modalities.

2.4.3 Gender and the Lived Body

Elspeth Probyn (2003) draws on the theories of Louis Althusser and Teresa de Lauretis to forward the notion that subjectivity is both a process and a production. As a Marxist, Althusser was interested in how ideologies are diffused through 'Ideological State Apparatus' including education, the family, religion, and the law (ibid.) such that 'we are subjected to the practices of different ideological apparatuses, and we become subjects in terms of them' (ibid., p.292). Interpellation, for Althusser, was an everyday practice through which ideologies fuse the structural and the psychic: ideologies become absorbed in our internal selves, they shape behaviour and action a sense of self (ibid., p.291). Alternatively, de Lauretis' work replaces ideologies with gender to conceive of

> a subject constituted in gender though not by sexual difference alone, but rather across languages and cultural representations; a subject engendered in the experiencing of race and class, as well as sexual relations; a subject, therefore, not unified but multiple, and not so much divided as contradicted (de Lauretis, 1987, p.1).

Probyn argues that de Lauretis' thinking offers a solid analytical framework for deliberating subjectivities and space

> [de Lauretis] does not want us to think that there is ideology and there is 'reality', as if the latter were not inextricably caught with the former. Subjectivity is a process that is continually in play with 'reality' and 'ideology', dominant representations and our own self-representations … we all live with, and indeed within, 'the tension of contradiction, multiplicity, and heteronomy' … the sites and spaces of its production are central. In other words, the space and place we inhabit produce us. It follows too that how we inhabit those spaces is an interactive affair (Probyn, 2003, p.293).

Probyn's concepts can be broadened by Iris Marion Young's (2002) notion of the lived body which allows for physical differences (skin colour, height, weight, disability) and sexual/reproductive differentiation without the constraints of over-simplification implicit in the category of sex/gender (ibid., p.416). Young argues that the lived body is always enculturated but that as a category it avoids pre-conceived constructed identities of individuals within group identities such as class, ethnicity or gender (ibid.). For Young

> each person is a distinctive body with specific features, capacities and desires that are similar to and different from those of others in determinate respects. She is born in a particular place and time, is raised in a particular family setting and all these have specific socio-cultural histories that stand in relation to the history of others in particular ways (ibid., p.417).

Young's position allows for a historicised and concrete understanding of body and subjectivity, in recognition that subjectivity is habituated by the behaviour and beliefs of others and socio-cultural circumstances not of one's own choosing. Accordingly, each being is person of action and freedom.

Conceptually, these notions provide a platform for theorizing the interrelationship between Emirati women student's subjectivities and the ideologies and materiality of the sites and spaces of Dubai in their everyday lives. They enable me to consider Emirati women's selfhood in multi-scalar ways within the Dubai context and in relation to cultural heritage, national identity, status, authoritarian neoliberal interpretations of modernity, gender, and local affinities to the city of Dubai. An over-arching theoretical lens grounded in spatiality enables me to consider how multiple

identities are embodied in the urban spaces in which Emirati women students inhabit and traverse.

2.4.4 Theorizing Space and Embodiment

Contemporary theories of embodiment recognise that knowledge is implanted in embodied practices (Pink, 2011). As the location of personal subjectivities, as a site of struggle and contestation (Valentine, 2001) the body features strongly in the research of subjectivity construction, inscribed as it is by material, social spaces and daily practices (Kuntz, 2010). The body cannot be removed from its spatial orientations (ibid.) bearing as it does the marks of our culture, practices, and policies (Pillow, 1997). Three interlinked ways to theorising space and embodiment help me critically engage with the voices of Emirati women students.

2.4.4.1 Body-City

Dubai can act as a focus for considering the body as a space and a body in a space (Valentine, 2001). Grosz (1994) suggests that we conceive of the body-city relationship as a

> two way linkage defined as an interface…a model of relations between bodies and cities which sees them not as megalithic total entities, distinct identities, but as assemblages or collections of parts, capable of crossing the thresholds to firm linkages, machines, provisional and often temporary sub- or microgroupings (ibid., p.32).

Grosz makes the case for a 'fundamentally disunified series of systems and interconnections, in a series of disparate flows, energies, events or entities, and spaces' (ibid., p.34). In examining lived spatiality Grosz conceives of the body as 'a hinge between the population and the individual' and the city as an important regulatory tool for governments through its supervision of the body's 'distribution, habits, alignments pleasures, norms and ideals' (ibid., p.35).

2.4.4.2 Embodiment and Emplacement

Pink (2011) argues for a move from embodiment to emplacement stating that the latter better serves our understanding of the relationship of body to space. She posits that places are not bounded but open and entwined with the environment

> We need to understand places as composed of all entanglements of all components of an environment [which] includes geological forms, the weather, human socialities, material objects, buildings, animals and more (ibid., p.349).

Places, Pink suggests, are 'intensities of activity and presence, as experienced by embodied human subjects from specific subjectivities. In this sense, place, is also an event' and therefore links, to the temporality of place/space (ibid.). Ways of knowing, she asserts, are contingent not simply on the knowing and experiences of events, but to the 'complex ecology of the social, material, affective and sensory environmental processes' (ibid., p.353). The embodiment of spaces is intricately enmeshed with the specificities and intensities of both the place-event and with its processes of historicity and their entanglements (ibid.).

2.4.4.3 Emotional Geographies, Public Pedagogies and Affect

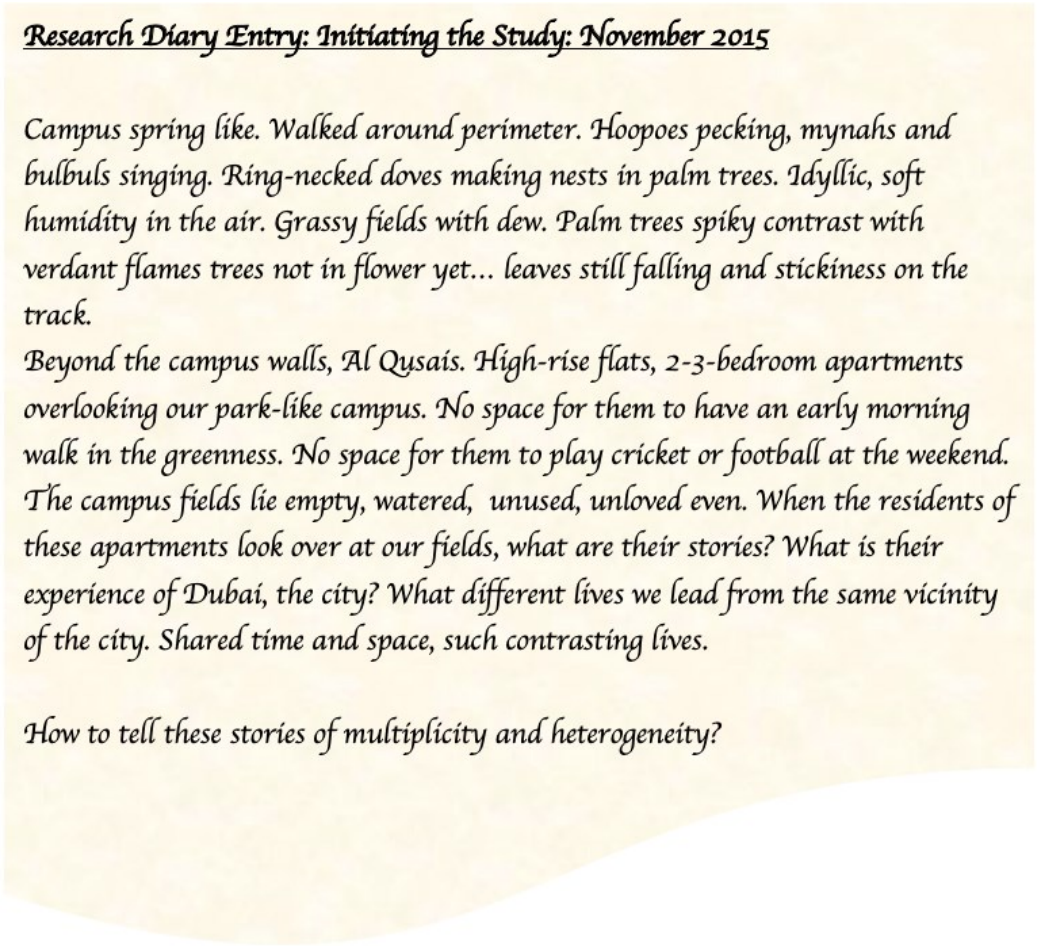
A third and final way of considering space and embodiment is to focus on the interplay of emotion and affect with spatiality; in this study, how interpellation through public pedagogies constitute affective responses. Recognising that feeling and thinking through the body (Davidson and Milligan, 2004, p.523) forms our own personal geographies, affect helps consider the 'gendered, emotionally dynamic spatiality of social life' (Davidson and Bondi, 2004, p.373).

Emotions, as embodied responses elicited by spatial settings, are one form of response. The space around us also influences mood, temperament and sensation, influencing the intensive capacities of the body to affect and be affected. Affect works beyond and through emotion, as 'unformed and unstructured intensities crossing the passage from one bodily state to another' (Anderson, 2009, p.8). Wetherell sees affect as 'embodied meaning-making' (2015, p.4) and it is this conceptualisation of affective practice that I engage with. Affective practice combines social, discursive, and social narratives with psychological aspects of movement and flow of internal and external embodied feeling and emotion conceptualized as

> a moment of recruitment, articulation or enlistment when many complicated flows across bodies, subjectivities, relations, histories and contexts entangle and intertwine together to form just this affective moment, episode or atmosphere with its particular possible classifications (ibid., p.160).

In constituting subjectivities, 'identity, affect legitimacy and social practice are closely woven together' (ibid., p.154) and social identification is an integral to the sharing of affect (ibid.). My thesis also explores the interplay between power and affective practice in contributing to gendered social reproduction and historical processes (Hemmings, 2005). Thus, in this enquiry, affect is considered as an interconnection between space, time, embodiment and daily practice.

2.5 Theorizing Dubai



Research Diary Entry: Initiating the Study: November 2015

Campus spring like. Walked around perimeter. Hoopoes pecking, mynahs and bulbuls singing. Ring-necked doves making nests in palm trees. Idyllic, soft humidity in the air. Grassy fields with dew. Palm trees spiky contrast with verdant flames trees not in flower yet… leaves still falling and stickiness on the track.

Beyond the campus walls, Al Qusais. High-rise flats, 2-3-bedroom apartments overlooking our park-like campus. No space for them to have an early morning walk in the greenness. No space for them to play cricket or football at the weekend. The campus fields lie empty, watered, unused, unloved even. When the residents of these apartments look over at our fields, what are their stories? What is their experience of Dubai, the city? What different lives we lead from the same vicinity of the city. Shared time and space, such contrasting lives.

How to tell these stories of multiplicity and heterogeneity?

Figure 5. Research Diary Entry, November 2015

2.5.1 Dubai's Discursive and Material Entanglements

Drawing on ideas from my research diary (Figure 5.) in this thesis, Emirati women students' lived experiences are understood through their relation to Dubai as both a discursive, immaterial site, and as a tangible, extant site. In Dubai, the national discourse of *Vision2021* fuses with Dubai's status as an Emirati city with an urban/spatial narrative of global pioneer (Helmy, 2008). The national vision of twenty-first century post-oil productive citizenship aligns closely to the language and discourse of globalised authoritarian neoliberalism. Dubai's Emirati women students are subjected an entanglement of multi-scalar discourses, ideas and imaginings. Unlike students from the oil-rich administrative capital Abu Dhabi or the rural, conservative emirates of Ras al Khaimah, Dubai's Emirati women students are at once subject to the global discourse of Brand Dubai, and inhabit the localised spatial imaginings of a global cosmopolitan, multi-cultural city (Shammas, 2018).

2.5.2 Dubai: Socio-Spatial Structuring of the Cityscape

Dubai's contemporary urban landscape typifies regimes of spatial regulation and discourses of authoritarian neoliberalism in Arab Gulf cities (Hertog, 2017). Dominant political ideologies and practices of power 'are regulated by neoliberal tropes and spatially engineered realities' (Daher, 2013, p.101) which co-mingle to produce spaces, states and subjects. Dubai has fashioned an urban spectacle (Elsheshtawy, 2010) which attracts international investment in commerce and tourism through the deployment of neoliberal economic development strategies predominantly the establishment of competitive business environments (Daher, 2013). These cater to the consumption practices of elites. Urban islands for non-citizen expatriates are constructed – gated communities, exclusive high-rise towers, or multi-functional residential complexes – to provide spaces both of refuge and consumption. Infused through these mutating landscapes are discourses of emancipation and urban lifestyles in conjunction with claims of social sustainability (Daher, 2013).

One aspect of socio-spatial structuring is its creation of a geographic framework of inequality and marginalisation and the rendering of various populations within the city invisible. This works in counter-intuitive ways in Dubai. It is unsurprising that migrant labour camps are situated on the outskirts of the city (Buckley, 2013) or that

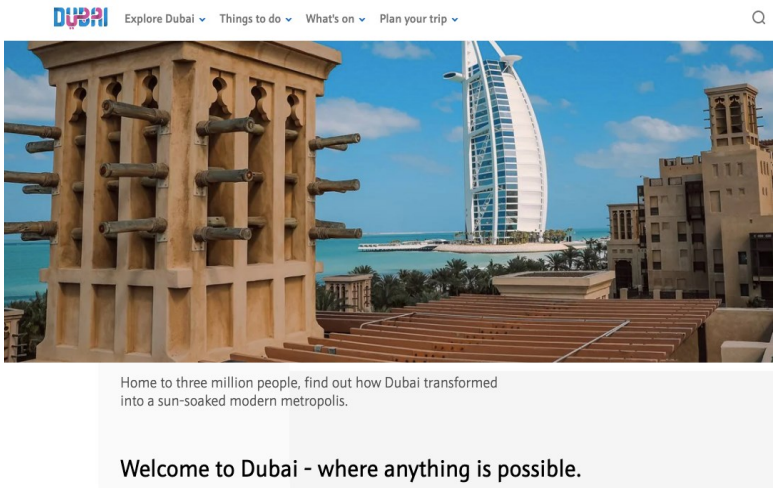
service workers inhabit older, run-down areas of the city (Vora, 2013; Vora, 2011). However, a major contribution to the invisibility of Emiratis in the everyday life of the cityscape, aside from the demographic imbalance is the strategic urban planning policy of segregated areas for Emirati housing (Alawadi, 2017). To this extent, the conservative Muslim faith and cultural traditions of the Emirati people are downplayed. Haines (2011) argues that it is a strategic policy and "branding" decision to play down Islam and tenets of Muslimness, and to emphasise excess over restraint in a further instance of the flows of authoritarian neoliberalism. Strategic segregation results then in the explicit and purposeful formation of enclaves and gated communities within Dubai itself, by nationality, class, ethnicity and faith. Emiratis, whilst not marginalised monetarily, are excluded, in that the discourses of consumption and materialism of Brand Dubai juxtapose uneasily with some core tenets of faith.

2.5.3 Affective Flows of Brand Dubai

The "build it and they will come" development policy (Kerr, 2019), initiated with the establishment of Emirates Airlines' establishment in 1985 (Emirates, 2019) has been deployed in Dubai to re/invent the city by cementing a regional and international competitive advantage, a strengthening of the city's reputation and the corporate identity to thus build her economy. The layers of Dubai's distinctive brand identity became more multifaceted as lifestyle opportunities for residents and visitors have improved though the provision of enhanced public and commercial infrastructure (Helmy, 2008). Underpinned by the affective thread of "excitement" Dubai's urban brand creates a raft of city images (Helmy, 2008) shopping, leisure and entertainment being the most obvious, but lately as a city of knowledge, of business, of governance and of security. Leveraging her location and applying her branding Dubai, becomes a global city as the destination of individuals from around the world, who themselves become global citizens by circulating through Dubai (Haines, 2011). Place branding creates at once competition between places while simultaneously binding interconnecting global hubs through capital investment and the production and exchange of symbolic capital (Haines, 2011). Current branding slogans emphasise the centrality of the global future and situate Dubai at the heart of a globalised world (Figure 6.). Dubai's branding, in a material and immaterial sense, targets and

circulates aspiration: success, status, hopes, dreams and desire (Haines, 2011). Brand Dubai constructs an image of a global, worlding urban metropolis linking continents. Attracting visitors, capital and investment, Brand Dubai aims to capture the essence of modernity through urban landscapes dedicated to consumption and lifestyles (example in Appendix 1).

Brand Dubai represents the retreat of the city-state behind the screen of neoliberalism where the tourist/investor/businessman/worker can materialise their dreams. The state sets the stage for this to occur with citizens employed to facilitate the functioning of the city. In the social sphere, control of citizenship through cultural and procreative, reproductive strategies remains with the state (Gray, 2015; Al-Qasimi, 2020). Brand Dubai fabricates a local identity that has limited resonance with indigenous cultural norms; place-making strategies deliberately select and prioritise of fun, future, and lifestyles using photography and mediated images as political, pedagogical forces (Loopmans, Cowell and Oosterlynck, 2012). In tandem with this imagery the urban cityscape forms as a constant, on-going connection of people, non-human-beings, and past/present/future bodies (Evans, Colls and Hörschelmann, 2011). Into this assemblage, come biopolitical strategies, affective-discursive practices that manage the existence of our embodied forms (Rich, 2011b). This thesis aims to critically analyse this assemblage through the voices of Emirati women students, acknowledging that learning takes place across a spectrum of sites and spaces (Giroux, 2004) in order that we can understand how this assemblage functions as a pedagogical force (Ellsworth, 2005) and as a representation of reality that has been legitimised and accepted as the dominant social order (Giroux, 2001 in Rich, 2011b).



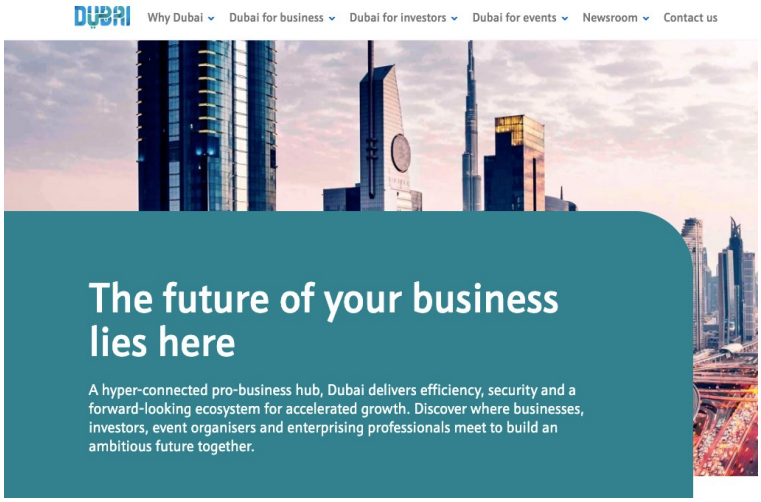


Figure 6. Branding Slogans for Dubai (Emirates24/7, 2019; visitdubai.com, 2020a; 2020b)

2.5.4 The Spatial Turn: Researching Emirati Women Students

A dynamic spatial turn has begun to shed light on the spatial practices of Emirati women students in HEIs in Dubai. Gergana Alzeer's (2014) research demonstrated the resonance of spatiality as a methodological approach in this culturally-specific setting. Her subsequent papers noted:

a. "Cocooning" as a spatial practice, 'a spatial representation of what also seems a universal longing among women, beyond context and culture, for a space of one's own' (Alzeer, 2017)
b. Aspects of spatial practices were informed by Emirati identity and socio-cultural formation demonstrating the intersection of tradition and modernity evidenced by the affective spatial practices of "togetherness" and "sitting on the floor" (Alzeer, 2018a)
c. The emergence of a gendered spaces on a university campus that moderated along sociocultural lines, interactions between the institution and the participants - Emirati female students and their interactions with teaching staff, support staff, security staff and occasionally Emirati male students (Alzeer, 2018b)
d. Specific dynamics emerging in relation to gendered spaces as Emirati women contested and negotiated gender segregation practices demonstrating the relational nature of power within the spatial confines of the institution (Alzeer, 2018c)
e. Emirati women students' utilization of their bodies as individualized spaces co-constituted with cognitions beyond the material in order to assert their identities. These resultant spaces are frequently conceived of as rebellious and dissident mediums against the allowances of social and cultural norms that refract against their "Emirati identity" (Alzeer and Amin, 2020)

Rebellious/conformist spatial practices are also identified in Sarah Trainer's (2015) paper that notes the (de)regulation of the self within the confines of the campus boundaries in terms of social interactions, body ornamentation and experimental performative practices. The campus provides a "safe" space to engage in acts which cannot be replicated beyond the campus' walls. Analyses of these performances of the self are interrogated through a sociocultural frame of norms/values. Beyond the confines of gender-segregated university campuses, explorations into Emirati women students' geographies of Dubai and the ways in which they categorise public spaces as Emirati/non-Emirati, lay the foundations for discussions around their ambiguous perceptions of the cultural Other (Reichenbach, 2015b). Further to this, spatial practices under the imperative of self-regulation for Emirati women in light of the

gaze and judgments of their own community reveal the unfolding contributions of nationality/class/gender in the construction of Dubai's urban cityscape as a contemporary neoliberal city (Reichenbach, 2015a).

This expanding field of spatial work within and outside of educational spaces in Dubai produces insights into how spatial meanings and practices are permeated with specific cultural nuances and how particular sets of social relations of power work through an understanding of *difference.* However, whilst extremely informative and thorough, the research described above is obvoluted within an entanglement of conceptual discourses of (ethno)-nationalism, culture, religion, tradition, gender and identity that have become accepted versions of reality. In particular, the constructs of Emirati identity and culture are problematic due to their association with state-dominated narratives on heritage and culture. For this reason, my thesis moves beyond identity and towards subjectivity.

2.6 Coalescing the Research Framework

2.6.1 Lines of Flight

Subjectivities in Dubai are co-produced by intertwined discourses: of racialised practices circulated in socio-spatial structuring; of *Vision2012's* interlocking narratives of loyalty and allegiance with neoliberal rationalities; of Brand Dubai's globalising and modernising entrepreneurial image contoured with escapism and consumerism; and that of a surveillance state shaped by practices of governmentality. Subjectivities are complex, material-discursive, mobile and multiple. They cannot be understood through concepts as simple as belonging or not belonging, nor of one particular narrative. Dubai as a lived experience promulgates an intersection of axes of selfhood from the neoliberal visionings of re-imagined Arab Gulf cities, through those of racialised ethnic stratifications and gendered cultural expectations.

In a Foucauldian biopolitical sphere, resistance is concomitant within the power/knowledge nexus. Researching intertwining subjectivities with spatiality through, and engaging with, pedagogical forces of affective practice and embodied meaning making, naturally raises possibilities for Deleuzian lines of flight to emerge.

Lines of flight arise as 'revolutionary becomings' that evade the 'surveillant assemblages which aim to organise' one's lives (Rich, 2011b, p.12). In the Emirati context, Al-Qasimi (2020) argues for lines of flight that transcend petrocapitalist flows and creates potentialities for revolutionary desire – a lateral and rhizomatic shift that moves beyond the monotonous vertical tracings of genealogical and hereditary lines. It is in this spirit that this research has been undertaken.

2.6.2 Guiding Questions

Taking inspiration from St. Pierre's (2000) framework for poststructural educational researchers I have compiled questions to guide my investigation

In relation to Emirati women students who live, study and work in Dubai:

1. In what ways do spatial practices and spatial technologies shed light on everyday life a neoliberal multi-cultural city?
2. How are normative expectations of women's gendered lives lived out in the city?
3. How does Dubai as an emotional/spatial/cultural site impact the construction of the self?
4. How can educators use this knowledge to improve their pedagogic practice?

I ensured these research questions adhere to guidelines set out by Agee (2009). They broadly articulate what I hope to garner regarding the perspectives of those involved in my research interactions and they indicate how the findings might be applied. They stand as initial iterations of lines of questioning intended to be exploratory and provisional but serve to convey the central focus of my thesis and they move towards uncovering the particularities of the context and group in question. The questions align to the theoretical framework outlined earlier in this chapter connecting my research to its field of enquiry enabling a more critical and in-depth understandings to emerge. Additionally, maintaining awareness that 'inquiries into other people's lives are *always* an exercise in ethics' (ibid., p.440), I consider these questions to meet ethical standards.

These questions keep my research journey on task and assist with research design but I do not anticipate the questions will necessarily be directly answered rather that

responses might emerge as themes through the data collection and analysis. Predominantly, I use these questions to obtain insights into the daily practices of Emirati women students and their understandings of their social context and learning trajectories. In this way I intend to reconceptualise Emirati women students of the post-oil generation beyond current binary understandings of culture and national identity. My methodological approach to doing this is the subject of the next chapter.

3 Methodology

3.1 Questions of Design

3.1.1 Public Pedagogy Research

This chapter demonstrates processes and conceptual thinking behind the research design. The notion of teacher-researcher as a bricoleur resonates for me and as a public pedagogy thesis, I perceive 'students as living texts to be deciphered' (Kincheloe, Mclaren and Steinberg, 2011, p.166). Teacher-student dialogue queries knowledge production within students' specific socio-political and cultural contexts (ibid.) enabling educators to envisage how education matters to their students and its impact on their lived experiences (Homer, 2011).

Culture plays a pedagogical role in the formation of narratives, imagery and metaphors contributing to people's conceptualizations of themselves and their relationships to others (Giroux, 2004). In Chapter 2 I noted that research has been undertaken using constructs of gender, culture and national identity across the UAE and in HE and given my justifications for avoiding such an approach. Hence, my methodological stance avoids direct reference to any notion of "culture" preferring to consider culture as a collective *practice* with actual material consequences (Gill, 2008), a social definition of culture that refers to particular way of life, and which expresses particular meanings and values across learning, art, institutions and ordinary behaviours (Williams, 1961, p.62). Intending to trouble/interrupt dominant discourses as they relate to subjectivity construction of Emirati women students, my research design focuses on im/material practices outlined in the guiding questions. The design concentrates on the everyday spaces of Dubai as they are inhabited and visited, sensed and embodied, navigated and emplaced. From these spaces I hope to accrue a sense of normative expectations of women's gendered lives and to witness the imprint of Dubai as an urban cityscape on the selves of the participants subjectively, emotionally, culturally and behaviourally. Thinking about the city as a pedagogical space from which we learn and are socialised, deeper understanding of Emirati women students can be wrought.

3.1.2 Ontological and Epistemological Position

There remains however, the troubling intersection between critical pedagogy and feminist positions (Luke and Gore, 1992; English and Irving, 2008). Accordingly, my paradigmatic assumptions draw strongly from the intersection and affinities between post-structural feminism and educational research outlined more fully in Chapter 2.

> Educational research is increasingly construed as a value-constituted and value-constituting enterprise, no more outside the power/knowledge nexus than any other human creation (Lather, 1992, p.91).

As Lather describes, 'the politics of knowing and being known' are primary concerns for feminist researchers. It is, she suggests, not a question of whether there is a particular feminist methodology but rather how feminist research should advance when the location of feminist knowledge is transforming that knowledges' terrain (ibid.).

Falling into broadly defined naturalistic inquiry (Wicks, 2010) my thesis operates within an interpretivist paradigm, that encompasses a relativist ontology and a subjective epistemology. Simply put, my approach conceives of the existence of a multiplicity of realities which require holistic exploration (ibid.). This produces a guiding set of philosophies and understandings of the world that steer the direction of my research, understandings and study (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). Interpretivists acknowledge the impossibility of an objective reality and understanding meaning predominantly through representation (ibid.). Knowledge is relative to specific circumstances - cultural, temporal, spatial, and historical – and meaning therefore exists in many forms as representations of reality. Recognition and narration of human experience and actions in their multiple ways of knowing and meaning-making are prioritised (Levers, 2013).

'Relativist ontology is the belief that reality is a finite subjective experience and nothing exists outside of our thoughts' (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005 in Levers 2013). Drawing from Guba and Lincoln (2005), Levers explains a relativist perspective of reality is not separable from the subjective experience of it. She considers it misleading to suggest that there are two separate entities because 'in this way of

thinking, reality *is* human experience and human experience *is* reality (Levers, 2013, p.2). This ontology acknowledges that with 'multiple interpretations of experience come multiple realities' (ibid.) and its a priori principle of research is 'to comprehend the subjective experience of reality and multiple truths' (ibid.).

It follows that a subjective epistemology should infuse the thesis, an acknowledgement that culture, class, ethnicity, nationality, language and gender filter knowledge and meaning-making (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). As a researcher whist I do not deny the existence of an external reality, I recognise that knowledge as value laden in a subjective epistemology (Levers, 2013). My observations, reflections and interpretations, arrived at from my individual perspective are not an expression of an 'unaffected and universal knowledge of an external reality' (ibid., p.3). Through the subjective nature of my research I intend to hone comprehension of and foster an ethical and moral sensitivity whilst loosening both personal and political constraints (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005).

3.1.3 Theory and Method

An assemblage of theory and method has been integrated from the outset. The theoretical underpinnings of embodiment, affect and feminism thought have been outlined in Chapter 2 and throughout the thesis I allude to paradigmatic positions and methodological assumptions. The concepts that drive my thinking require particular methods of researching: person-centred qualitative methodology centred on embodied interviewing and participant-driven narratives.

3.1.3.1 Embodied Interviewing

In reflecting on the interplay between researcher/participants inhabited positions has led to modifications in the way that I approached data collection, analysis and representation, transforming it into a dynamic, dialogic process. The tenets of dialogic inquiry negotiate multiple perspective and consider individuals as evolving entities forever in a process of ideological becoming (Kotsopoulos, 2010). This aligns with forms of embodied interviewing, used in qualitative research to show how symbolic meaning-making systems (for example, language and discourse) mediates researcher/participants' worldviews and lived experiences. It is this position I adopt: a methodology which 'refers to the ability to view issues from multiple perspectives and to arrive at the most … reasonable reconciliation of seemingly contradictory

information and postures' (Manzo, 1995, p.1).

Chapter 2 discussed the interlinkage of spatiality and [bodily] subjectivities to elucidate the ways the body absorbs cultural rules and norms. Researchers have begun to use exploration through interview as a means of investigating subjectivities through the lived experiences of the body and the subsequent meanings engendered for individual/group selves in specific contexts (Ellingson, 2012). Ellingson advocates embodied interviewing which rejects the mind-body split and embraces a personhood incorporated by the body-subject (Barnacle, 2013). As such, 'embodiment is … both a topic of inquiry and a means of framing inquiry' (Ellingson, 2012, p.528). Embodied interview research is textural, layered and [inter]-active infused with the verbal and the non-verbal.

3.1.3.2 Crystallisation

In order to meet the need for rigour, authenticity and validity (Guba and Lincoln, 2005) (Guba and Lincoln, 2005) my work encompasses a crystallization approach (Richardson, 2000; Ellingson, 2014) Ellingson's methodological framework based on crystallisation has pertinence for research into the everyday, specifically that which that employs visual media and storytelling approaches. It combines intense, intimate life details intermixed with wider structural and relational configurations more commonly identified through conventional analyses. Crystallization offers a way of achieving depth through accumulation of multiple facts, to augment 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973) that lead to nuanced portraits of relationships and everyday practices that allow vital insight of commonplace experiences within a complex relational web (Ellingson, 2014). This ensures the authentic validity of the research (Guba and Lincoln, 2005).

3.2 Research Design

3.2.1 Encountering Visual Social Research

Having decided not to use named constructs (gender, national identity, language) I need a research alternative to linguistic devices, a way for Emirati women students to generate emotive and affective reactions to the city without being intrusive or leading. This requires flexible, elastic procedures that allow participants to conceal/reveal at their own discretion. Mannay (2014) argues that the use of visual methods can

combat the problematics of researcher/participant familiarity and preconceptions. They increase the transactional validity of the research – the interplay between the participants, researcher and the data produced – by extending participant control and increasing the time for self-exploratory reflection. As such they are a positive counterbalance to the tacit assumptions of insider knowledge. I experimented with various visual methods, from drawing and photography to diagramming. Piloting data production techniques myself (Figure 7.) felt ethically and practically appropriate (ibid.).

3.2.2 Designing Research with Visual Methods

As I was unable to find a similar study with similar intentions and theoretical underpinnings, I designed the study from scratch (Figure 7..). As I found limited uptake of visual methods in HE (Gauley, 2010) I turned to qualitative work from health sciences, psychology, cultural studies and secondary education. I required techniques that would be contextually, culturally, ethically and methodologically appropriate for work with Emirati women students and would achieve the research goals of eliciting the interplay between space/subjectivity/embodiment/affect and Dubai. McGrath, Mullarkey and Reavey (2019) define emotions as patterned relations that respond to and are embedded within symbolic power systems and meaning-making practices of the everyday. Deploying Wetherell's affective practices they argue for

> methodologies which…explore affect as both flowing activity and stabilizing patterns and … enacted on both large and small scales. If affective experiences and practice contain both order and becoming … then we need similarly flexible methodologies that can explore both stability and fluidity, both process and pattern (ibid., p.3).

3.2.2.1 Technique 1: Drawing

Such an approach opened the possibilities of drawing as a research tool. Entailing participants' drawing in response to a prompt has included: life histories (van Schalkwyk, 2010); investigations into corporeal subjectivities (Francombe, 2011); children's conceptions of domestic space (Mannay, 2014); and interrogations of the emotional impacts of change in educational institutions (Kearney and Hyle, 2004). Mapping has been used extensively in Cultural Geography (McGrath, Mullarkey and

Reavey, 2019) and Cultural Studies (Johnson *et al.*, 2004) to evince the temporality and spatiality of everyday life (Burkitt, 2004). Drawing techniques have the potential to invite affective dimensions and the enhancement of critical dialogue and rigour through artistic and embodied means (Lapum *et al.*, 2015).

Recollection 1: Piloting

Using my own everyday practices, I imagine how I might best answer these questions of myself, a Dubai resident. I start a research diary in which I randomly ponder my own spatial practices: the places/areas I visit/avoid; daily/weekly/weekend routes; early morning college campus walks; reactions to architecture and/or traffic; the urbanising of the landscape; and my memories and nostalgia for the decades past. I consider how they make me think and feel. I doodle, and scribble, make notes and sketch. I take photographs. I research further into the spatial technologies of the city and as I do, I observe how my taken-for-granted quotidian is more hierarchically divided by ethnicity and class than I have imagined; spatial divisions planned to impart a citizen/non-citizen divide. I think about the ways in which I temper my own behaviours in public as a British Muslim woman. I consider myself in relation to Dubai, how it makes me, unmakes me and remakes me. I become acutely aware of the impact that Dubai has upon me, and who I am. Dubai is inside me.

Figure 7. Recollection 1

3.2.2.2 Techniques 2: Photo and Film Elicitation

I identified a similar affective potential in many photo and film elicitation approaches (Harper, 2002), the basic premise being that participants narrate their reflections and reactions to photographic or moving images. Participant-produced images allow participants more control over the research process where researcher-instigated images maintain more consistency over the process (Leonard and McKnight, 2014). I was inspired by wide-ranging social science research that used variations of photo/film elicitation. These included emotion research (Rottenberg, Ray and Gross, 2007; Schaefer *et al.*, 2010; Uhrig *et al.*, 2016; Zupan and Babbage, 2017), but the most salient were those that investigated subjectivities in educational settings (Croghan *et*

al., 2008; Francombe, 2011), subjectivity and the body (Francombe, 2011; Varea and Pang, 2016) alongside research that surveyed senses of place, community and social constructions of space (Bennett, 2014; Leonard and McKnight, 2014; Torre and Murphy, 2015; England, 2018). The generative techniques in these bodies of work guided me through the research design and the incorporation of spaces, culture, community, emotion and affect into the research design. I sensed a fashioning of original ways of 'looking – seeing – envisioning' (Metcalfe, 2016) that would evoke understandings of Emirati women students that had yet to be articulated.

3.2.2.3 Selection of Methods: Moving Forwards

I felt the potential of drawing and photo/film elicitation in terms of their

- ability to access specific cultural, political and economic arenas without using words
- potential depth/range to explore the guiding questions
- flexibility in terms of constraint/freedom to disclose
- practicality in implementation
- levelling of the power-dynamics between the researcher/researched
- increased transactional validity.

However, visual methods are nothing without methodological undergirding (Prosser, 2011; Pink, 2012; Pauwels, 2015; Rose, 2015). Following Clark and Morriss (2016), I chose methods to align with an embodied methodological approach allowing insights into the complexities of the relationship between spatiality/subjectivity and Dubai life. I determined that spatial practices investigated by drawing and sketching might reveal how gendered lives are experienced across various public spaces and that emotional relations could be gauged from photography and film. Spatial technologies could be given conceptual form using diagrams and sketches. These techniques facilitated the reduction of difficulties and sensitivities through the use of a 'neutral object' - displacing foci away from intrusions into participants' everyday lives but nevertheless eliciting nuanced insights (Clark, 2013). With the aim to involve sensory affects I deemed that the use of photographs, drawings and film, more than language alone, would afford new ways of seeing (Berger, 1972) thus allowing textual data to become affective, textured and layered (Russell and Diaz, 2012).

Needing to generate intuitive understandings of the familiar and quality through complementarity, productivity and multi-modality, I settle upon three discrete data collection techniques from within the two described above: participant-generated drawing interviews; photo-elicitation interviews using researcher-instigated visuals and participant-provided visuals; and film elicitation interviews. Data saturation should be achieved as each has a slightly different focus. I was guided by Pauwels (2015) Integrated Framework for Visual Social Research (IFVSR) (Appendix 2) which argues for a balanced, critically constructive and systematic approach to visual sociology (Grady, 2017). I used the pictorial version, comprising three sections 'Origin and Nature of Visuals', 'Research Focus and Design', and 'Format and Purpose' (Pauwels, 2015) to set up, justify and implement the design, not in a linear way, but dynamically as a researcher checklist, a reminder of issues at hand (Grady, 2017).

3.3 Ethical Issues in the Research Design

The IFVSR alerted me to ethical considerations: at the macro-level are the ethics of a *feminist* research study and those of cultural "sensitivities"; institutionally, there are procedural issues; methodologically, the practicalities and ethics of selected methods – all addressed below.

3.3.1 Feminist Ethics

Twenty-first century feminist research is dynamic, diverse and decentred (Olesin, 2011), *not* confined to female researchers studying women, nor requiring any specific techniques or ontological/epistemological positions (Ramazanoğlu and Holland, 2002). I understand it as distinctively shaped by feminist theory, politics and ethics and grounded in women's experience (James, 2014b, p.9). As such, feminist researchers have a shared political and ethical commitment that makes them accountable to a community of women with moral and political interests in common (Nelson, Treichler and Grossberg, 1992). Feminist research is politically *for* women; feminist knowledge has grounding in women's *experiences* and in how it *feels* to live in unjust, gendered relationships (Ramazanoğlu and Holland, 2002). Having been witness to the rapid social transformation of Emirati society in Dubai through daily interactions with Emirati women students I feel it imperative to use my experience, and identity as a feminist researcher to open a space for their voices to come alive.

Although, my research holds inherently and deliberately post-structural feminist ethics at its core, this does not mean to say that my personal understandings of feminism align with my participants'. Feminism is a contested term in the Muslim/Arab world (Ftouni, 2011) as is the word empowerment (Hasso, 2009). The contestation is situated between more conservative Islamic interpretations of the equivalency of men and women in moral matters but distinguishing the roles they play in society and those of a more open and liberal mind-set (Ftouni, 2011). In the research design, I deliberately avoided framings that outlined women's roles or brought in religious ideas, hoping that the gendered nature of their lives would emerge naturally. In omitting to explicitly state my feminist aims to the participants may be seen as deceptive. However, I feel this can be justified by my 'insider status', as a teacher with two decades of experience of working with Emirati women students and my gender. I set up the research activities to create a mutuality that I believed would comprise 'validation, understanding and acceptance of personal and professional concerns characterized by contradiction, complicity and resistance' (Watts, 2006, p.400).

3.3.2 Cultural Sensitivities as an Ethical Consideration

With an awareness of how ethical standards differ across both cultures (Hett and Hett, 2013) and the continuum of ontological approaches from positivism to post-modernism (Holliday, 2013), I have employed an ethical approach of critical cosmopolitanism (ibid.) which holds at its core an ethics of care (Held, 2006; Prosser, 2011). This centres on compassion, care and a desire to prioritise the best interest of the researched group rather than absolute, universal norms (Prosser, 2011). This approach fosters collaborative relationships and I believe, from multiple conversations, in class, on WhatsApp and in research interviews that my participants implicitly trusted me not to misrepresent them. This knowledge pressures me as a researcher to reciprocate and create an accurate representation of my participants.

I foresaw many possible cultural "sensitivities" that could arise in interviews, for example, tensions relating to the differing ethnic, racial and religious backgrounds of/between/within Dubai residents a*nd* Dubai citizenry. Stereotypical generalisations could have arisen in relation to these differences; the possibilities of underlying resentment and discriminatory tendencies may have unfolded causing

disagreements or tension between participating students or between the participants and myself. Implicit in the research is an unresolved [unasked] question of whom Dubai belongs to, and how distinct national expatriate groups contribute to the cultural, social and economic fabric of the city. This uncomfortably challenges Emiratis' perceptions of their society raising notions of dis/empowerment, entitlement and marginalisation. However, it specifically links to embodiment and identity of these women who use, move through, and themselves shape the city. As such these notions are central to the study and required addressing through empathetic, sensitive handling and an impartial stance rather than shutting down the narratives. Because of these sensitivities I chose to undertake individual interviews for the course of this research.

3.3.2.1 General Issues

In order to guide myself I use an education research handbook (BERA, 2011) to ensure that all relevant issues are covered in terms of: permissions; data safeguarding; consent; anonymity and confidentiality; and avoidance of harm. All institutional protocols (University of Bath and HCT) for conducting research with students have been followed and permissions received. Research protocols of confidentiality and anonymity for all participants are adhered to and layered consent forms (Clark and Morriss, 2016) are explained, read and signed prior to commencing research interviews (Appendix 3). All interviews are recorded using an iPhone App and audio data immediately anonymised and uploaded to the Cloud in my Dropbox account in a password-protected file. Likewise, all visual imagery created in or brought to the interviews by participants is immediately uploaded to Dropbox. Physical copies of the materials have been kept securely at home. In terms of anonymizing the research setting, a number of other published studies have identified women's universities and colleges in Dubai and I deemed it unnecessary and somewhat pretentious to anonymise – Dubai is a relatively small city and a mere description of the college reveals its identity (Sikes, 2013). No harm to students was foreseen in the process of this particular research, but as discussed, I maintain awareness that sensitive topics are likely to arise given the cultural and political sensitivities of the zeitgeist.

3.3.2.2 Specific Issues: Visual Methods

The guidelines in Wiles et al. (2008) are used to benchmark two ethical issues in relation to visual methods given the importance of anonymity and confidentiality described above.

3.3.2.2.1 Participant-generated images

Participants are asked to produce a number of analogue and digital images for the research as detailed above. Where the images were only used for data elicitation the initial consent form covered the uses. However, issues of confidentiality and anonymity arise if the images are to be used further, in the publication of the dissertation, in journal articles or in conference or workshop presentations. For these instances, I follow a 'situated ethics' (Clark, 2013) and use a separate consent form for each research activity in which the participants and myself negotiated layers of consent (Appendix 3).

3.3.2.2.2 Using Images for Data Elicitation

All images used in the photo-elicitation activities were taken by myself during field research. This was deliberate to ensure no identifiable individuals were captured. This did not compromise the research in any way as the visual images were intended to consist of cityscapes/landscapes including city landmarks as well as photographs of a variety of different neighbourhoods. Visuals used in the final activity, drawn from social media imagery are already in the public domain and thus do not pose separate ethical issues to those covered in the general consent forms. In the case where these contain identifiable individuals, I secure separate consent using the protocols detailed above.

3.4 Research Context

3.4.1 Research Setting

3.4.1.1 The Institution

The research setting for this enquiry was Dubai Women's College, one of seventeen colleges that make up the Higher Colleges of Technology, collectively known as the System. The college has an enrolled student population of around 2200 students, all female of whom the majority are Emirati citizens of Dubai with a minority from outlying emirates – Sharjah, Ajman and Um al Quwain. Originally set up to provide vocationally tailored courses in 1989 at Certificate, Diploma and Higher Diploma

levels, DWC offers 4 year Applied Bachelor Degrees in Applied Media, Business, Computer Information Sciences, Education, Engineering Technology and Science and Health Sciences (HCT, 2018a). The majority of the teaching faculty are expatriates from the Indian sub-continent, Arab states (Lebanon, Egypt, Jordan and Palestine) alongside a minority of European, Antipodean and North American teaching staff.

3.4.1.2 Curriculum and Course

Degree courses follow a hybrid model of US/Canadian higher education (Burden - Leahy, 2009) with students taking requisite studies in their major plus a suite of subjects collectively known as General Studies aimed at 'supporting, developing and mentoring all HCT students to reach their full communicative, intellectual, literacy and vocational skills potential' (HCT, 2018b). All programmes/courses (bar Arabic Communication and Emirati Studies) are delivered in English and are of a four-year duration. In the years preceding the study, students with lower language abilities undertook a Foundation Year to bolster their linguistic competence in English, meaning that for many students, it was a five-year journey to an undergraduate degree. Students who took part in the research were taking a General Studies course, Global Media Trends (HCT, 2016). Course and curriculum details for this course can be found in Appendix 4.

3.4.2 Participants

Participants in the study range: in age from 22 – 29; in marital status from single, engaged, to married and divorcing women; in employment status from full-time students to full-time working students; and in majors from courses across Education, Health Sciences, Applied Media and Computer Information Science.

3.4.2.1 Sampling Strategy

I use purposive sampling, over random or representative sampling to ensure an adequate range of data is collected thus improving the opportunity for uncovering multiple layers and windows into participants' realities (Wicks, 2010). The six-week summer semesters of 2016 and 2017 presented the optimal opportunity for recruiting participants. I was cognizant of the moments within the academic calendar when there would be additional pressure placed on the students, therefore shaping research protocols and a work package around these timings to minimise an increased workload. Summer semester is a six-week intensive block where students

undertake a single course, meeting teachers daily for two hours, covering course material in a short semester rather than sixteen-weeks. Consequently, students can participate in a research study without it impacting on their assessment schedule.

A further reason for choosing this timeframe is that I teach the Global Media Trends course. Success on this course requires students to hold an open attitude to the world around them, and to undertake critical analysis. It requires resilience as a number of high-level concepts beyond students' current breadth of knowledge are introduced. Students are also asked to critically assess their own media practices/understandings and to judiciously consider their impact on Emirati society and the multi-cultural landscape of Dubai. I believe that the likelihood of recruiting students to the study would be higher than in some of the other English Language courses that I teach on.

The participants in the study were self-selected. At the beginning of each semester in 2016 and 2017 I gave a three-part introductory presentation on my research project to students and asked for volunteers to take part. I was open about the precise nature of the research in order to avoid deception and exploitation (BERA, 2011). I explained my personal interests and what knowledge I felt was missing in the literature regarding the teaching of Emirati women. It was a difficult pitch as these were new students with whom I had yet to develop a trusting, collaborative relationship – I was asking for considerable time, disclosure and personal investment. In addition, *Ramadhan* was approaching meaning that students would have other familial and spiritual commitments.

Ten students volunteered and completed the research. The participants constituted wide-ranging and disparate personal profiles portraying women across the lifespan sufficient to develop cogent insight into the research topic.. All identities have been anonymised and the names used throughout the analysis are pseudonyms. Permissions have been received for the use of all images.

3.5 Data Collection/Data Production as Research Design

3.5.1 Data Production Methods

The aim of multi-modal data collection is to ensure maximum potential coverage of areas and angles that could emerge from the guiding research questions. This section introduces the purpose of each data collection tool based around data collection method in relation to the guiding questions. The chronology of the data collection methods as they were deployed over two six-week periods in 2016/2017 can be found in Appendix 5. As the majority of visual method exemplifiers emanate from Western contexts I reworked, re-contextualized and recreated tasks to develop a suite of data collections methods suitable for investigating the relationship of subjectivity/spatiality/embodiment and Dubai-as-urban-entity with Emirati women students. The result is a set of visual, embodied, and emplaced methods. Over six weeks the interactions progressively probe further into detailed and delicate areas of lived experience. As described in Section 4.2.2 these comprise interviews from participant-generated drawing tasks and photo-and-film elicitation tasks. Table 2 gives a brief outline of the type and purpose of the task as well as information on supplementary "data" collection. Further details of each research task and examples of data collected can be found in Appendices 6 to 8. My recollections of interviews are found in Figure 8.

Recollection 2: Interviewing

Individual interviews overall elicited deeper and more personal and political information that I am aware would never have been revealed in a group or pair situation. Except on a couple of occasions where a collegial friendship had developed and I received the students' verbal consent and facilitated a paired interview. There were advantages to both methods. The pair interviews were in a sense more fun: the students laughed with each other, and surprised and shocked each other with revelations of their everyday lives. They helped each other when lost for words due to interviews being conducted in a second-language and there was a positive interplay and greater profusion of ideas as they compared and contrasted life experiences.

Figure 8. Recollection 2

Data Collection Summary			
Method	Type	Name	Purpose
Participant – Generated Drawing Interviews	Life Mapping	Life History Interview	To build trust Character profile To introduce spatial and temporal themes of research Bridges RQs 1-3
	Journey Mapping	Cartographies of Everyday Life	To elicit urban spatial practices To elicit descriptive life pattern To shed light on embedded social hierarchies RQ1
	Drawing	Future/Ideal Workplace	To focus on aspirations To better understand the spaces where participants feel accommodated RQ2
	Diagramming	Social Relations in Dubai	To elicit conceptions of relationship between Emiratis and non-Emiratis Bridges RQs 1-3
Photo-Elicitation Interviews	Researcher Generated Images	Seeing the City – Affective Responses	To concentrate on emplacement, embodiment and belonging To focus on the mundane To elicit affective responses RQ3
	Participant Generated Images	Digital and Social Media – "You and your City"	To allow participants to portray own subjective interpretations of belonging To add extra layers of meaning and intimacy Bridges RQs 1-3
Film Elicitation	Class Discussion and Interview	Critical Response	To allow reflections on Dubai as an emotional/cultural/spatial site To elicit affective responses Bridges RQs 1-3
Supplementary Data Collection	Documentary Evidence	Previous academic research Media Sources Policy Reports Websites	
	Field Notes and Research Diary	Openness to interpretative position Supplements embodied interviewing & crystallisation of methods	
	Life Experience	Observation Accumulated experience from the classroom, campus and city	

Table 2. Summary of Data Collection Methods

3.6 Data Analysis: Practice and Process

3.6.1 Analytical Processes: Part 1 The Actual Process

For data analysis I use the four-stage dialogic approach forwarded by Johnson *et al.* (2004) (Figure 9.). Examples can be found in Appendix 9.

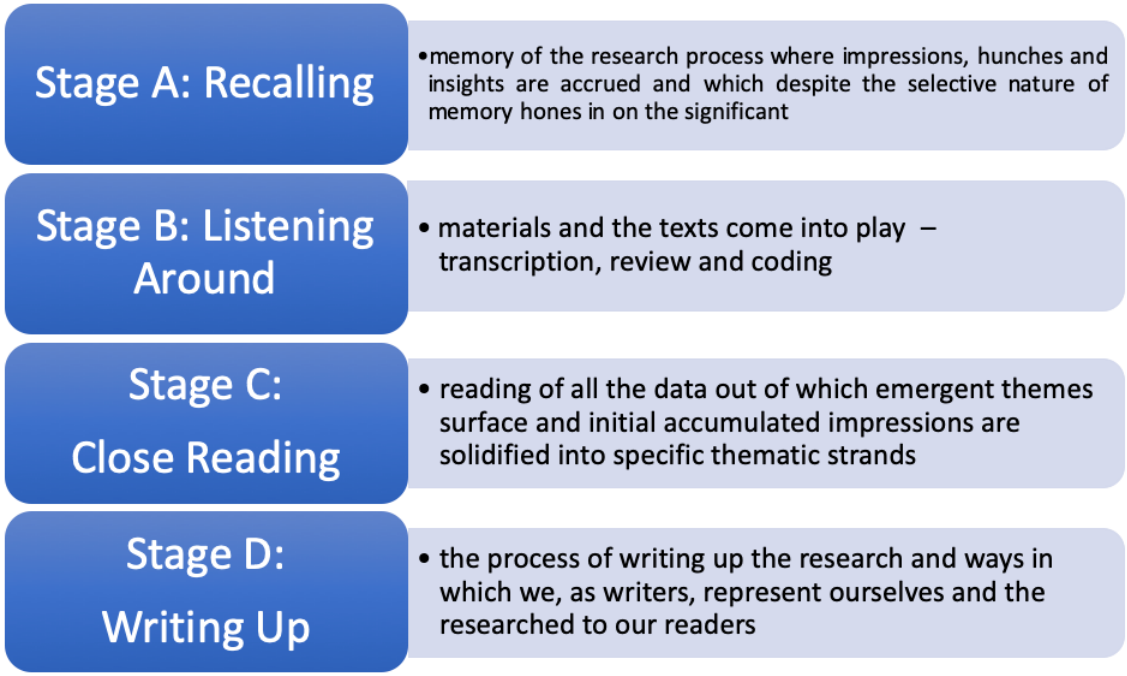


Figure 9. Four-stage Analytical Process (Johnson et al., 2004)

I followed the stages above – backwards and forwards. Making headnotes, collecting memories, writing them up, I collated and transcribed the data by participant into ten and data sets. This was done over a long period: the 2016 interviews were transcribed in Dubai, the 2017 in the UK. This afforded me time and space to review the nature of my research and to assess elements of value and those to discard. In the UK, I returned to the visual images that accompanied the text, I reviewed, sorted, sieved and continued the close reading.

3.6.2 Analytical Processes: Part 2 - Reflection and Reflexivity

My thesis does not follow all the conventions and traditions of an educational research study. This is a point of transition, a point of departure in the thesis where I pivot from design, theory, context and method into a narrative process of the study as

it happened. Taking myself as an integral embodied aspect of the research, I write through my analytical reflections on the process, shedding light on how the methods and design played out, with reflections synthesising into the emergent findings.

3.6.2.1 Stage A: Recalling

As Johnson *et al.* (2004) so aptly state the first dialogue around the research is initially dependent on our memories which have a knack of selecting the significant. Initial anxieties around the research were assuaged as students signed up, interviews began and as impressions began to form, crystalizing as potential theoretical strands. Significant episodes consolidated themselves in my memory. Hunches, feelings, moods and nuances have been noted in my research diaries – to exemplify - my surprise at the depth of gender-infused dialogue across a myriad of topics of conversation without the need for prompting. Similarly, strands of questioning were developed or dropped based on earlier recollections from earlier interviews. Over the fourteen months of data collection between 2016 and 2017 a bank of memories formed.

3.6.2.2 Stage B: Listening Around

This stage consisted of detailed transcriptions of all the interviews, an extensive review of the entirety of oral material gathered, laborious but necessary for insight and familiarity with the material and re-revealing forgotten episodes. Using Ellingson's (2012) process I embedded embodiment into the transcription process– hearing the voices in the tapes read in accompaniment to the data maps, drawings and photographs I noted my memories of the moments to bring the words to life, translation rather than dictation (ibid.).

3.6.2.3 Stage C: Close Reading

I began to select specific instances and narrative examples with the intention of using these as exemplifiers of ideas and themes. Here I also noted 'absences and silences' (Johnson *et al.*, 2004). Notable and surprising here was the lack of reference to religious concepts, which I had expected to play a prominent role in the interview discourses commensurate perhaps with gender roles. This absence had a significant influence on the way in which I would come to write about these women. Religion is a taken-for-granted notion, gender roles are not, which speaks to an understanding of Emirati women's agency. I noted too the commonalities which drew these women

together in disparate ways: the affordances of the educational experience and the meaning of education to these women; the role of mobility and the impact of urbanization in Emirati women's daily lives; the infusion of gender across the life experience and the strategies employed by women to push the boundaries. Out of this close reading I came to a closer approximation of the links between spatiality and subjectivities of Emirati women in Dubai and of how these impacted on subjectivity construction.

3.6.2.4 Stage D: Representing Self and Other

I experienced a cringe-worthy moment and a subsequent epiphany in regards to representation of the self and Other early in my research journey. I forced myself to go back to the drawing board, to think more deeply through modes of representation to avoid othering. I realised that despite my intentions to avoid material-discursive constructions such as culture, national identity, tradition and gender they had subconsciously crept into my agenda and becoming drawn into dualistic narratives and generalisations. However, these insights helped me to comprehend the depth of my complicity in a neo-Orientalist system and to apprehend the ways in which much contemporary research on Emirati women unwittingly falls into this trap. For these reasons, I have attempted in my newly styled writing: to retain a reflective and reflexive approach (Pillow, 2015); to make only tentative claims to understand the other – I remain mindful of appropriating others' truths; and to give prominence to the voices of those who I am representing – using their own words and thus allowing my readers and listeners the space to develop their own interpretations (Johnson *et al.*, 2004, p.239). My own interpretations aim to confront, broaden and transpose dominant versions/renderings giving a reading that transgresses local cultural identities and rather locates the lives of Emirati women within a global space.

I have additionally been influenced by the 'narrative turn' (Raine, 2013) and submit to a position where the researcher is integrally situated in the subjective world in which the research takes place, historically, politically, culturally and socially embedded (Goodson and Gill, 2011). I adopt polyvocality in my written account to create more evocative/poetic research (Richardson, 2002) and encouraged by Ellingson (2012), have employed experimental reflective excerpts which push the

boundaries of academic conventions but maintain an embodied reflexivity (Finlay, 2012; Pillow, 2015). Embodied writing brings the body of the researcher into being as four interpellations (Figure 10.).

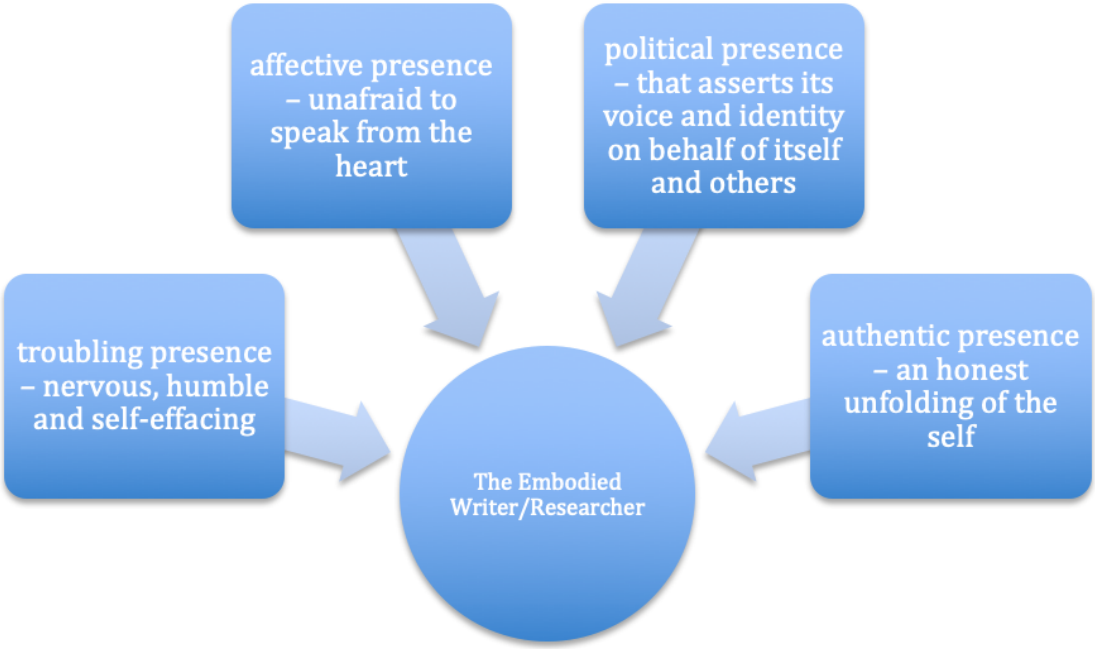


Figure 10. Four Presences of the Researcher (Pelias, 2005)

In this sense the

> four presences articulate the body as a sensuous, originating center that situates speech in the felt, muscular, and somatic; as an identity marker, perhaps estranged, that requires personal and cultural negotiation; and as an authentic and truthful representation of self that can be deployed on behalf of oneself and others (Pelias, 2015, p.276).

As I write up the research I consciously navigate between the formal/academic and informal/non-academic worlds of the participants and myself. Containing a co-mingling of personal and professional, critical yet empathetic, I have attempted to make the text accessible in order that the readers can be transported into the lives and experiences of the participants. Deliberately and necessarily, my own voice and experiences unequivocally permeate the text rendering this study an inter-sectioning of our contrasting yet common experiences. It is a story of multicultural subjects and inter-subjectivity.

3.7 Emergent Findings

Recollection 3: Beginning the analytical process

Each time I look back at the visual artefacts created in the data collection process, alongside the interview texts, I am reminded of the time and energy participants spent working on their, maps, pictures, conceptualisations and explanations of the interplay between revealed the multiple complexities and realities within Emirati society. I read the rich meaningful attributions the photo elicitations have generated. With attention diverted from the spectacular and extraordinary onto the ordinary and mundane, I start to identify commonalities/differences in participants' emotive, embodied responses.

Figure 11. Recollection 3

3.7.1 Intersections

Taking the study forward, I interrogate subjective meaning-making in the lives of Emirati female students in Dubai through the intersections of gender, cultural identity, ethno-nationalism, and neoliberal global, urban, cityscapes. I listened to and read the words of the participants. As I thought through the interviews and viewed the visual data iterations of emotion and affect rose through me (Figure 11.). I considered how the reflexive nature of this study was making full use of a feminist epistemology, a feminism of difference (Ftouni, 2011). Indeed, the only one commonality that linked all participants was the point of their educational journey; each participant was in their final semester at the college making up a "missing" General Studies course from their credits. Aside from this, evidence of difference can be seen across their varied life courses: they drew from a range of ethnic and social backgrounds; some were working students, others full-time students; their marital statuses varied. Nevertheless, they all had a considerable impetus to pass the course as this would lead to their graduation and which for some would open the way to workplace promotions and for others would lead to employment. To understand the

data, I needed to make sense of these emplaced intersections within Emirati women students' narratives evidenced by their apprehension of conditions of ordinariness and normality and those intricate linkages to the historicity of Dubai.

3.7.2 A Conceptual Model

As intersectional themes emerged from the data, my analytical self cried out for a visual to assist with data organisation. I conceptualised and used a diagrammatic model that may appear positivistic in nature but, as with the guiding questions, I conceive it as a pointer to remind me of the essence of the study and keep participants centre-stage. This framework steers my analysis through the data, as subjectivities emerge, are managed and negotiated out of the spatial lens of research events. These relationships are non-linear, interrelated, not complete but partial.

This model works, as a basis for conceiving how ideas/ideologies from the outside may render subjectivity on the inside. The model (Figure 12.) as a whole represents the *lived body* as emerging from and simultaneously shaping a specific context. Using themes explicated in Chapter 2, the outer ring represents the ways I conceptualized space and subjectivity, and reflects the interplays of space with everyday practices, embodiment and time evidenced in the data. Through these prisms the data has been refracted and understood. At the centre of the model I have placed "*Gendered Subjectivities*" as this idea emerged as a thread running through all aspects of participants' lives. Between the centre and the outer ring are three thematic interpellations which orbit the central lozenge. These are: *Being Emirati*; *Inhabiting*; and *Learning*.

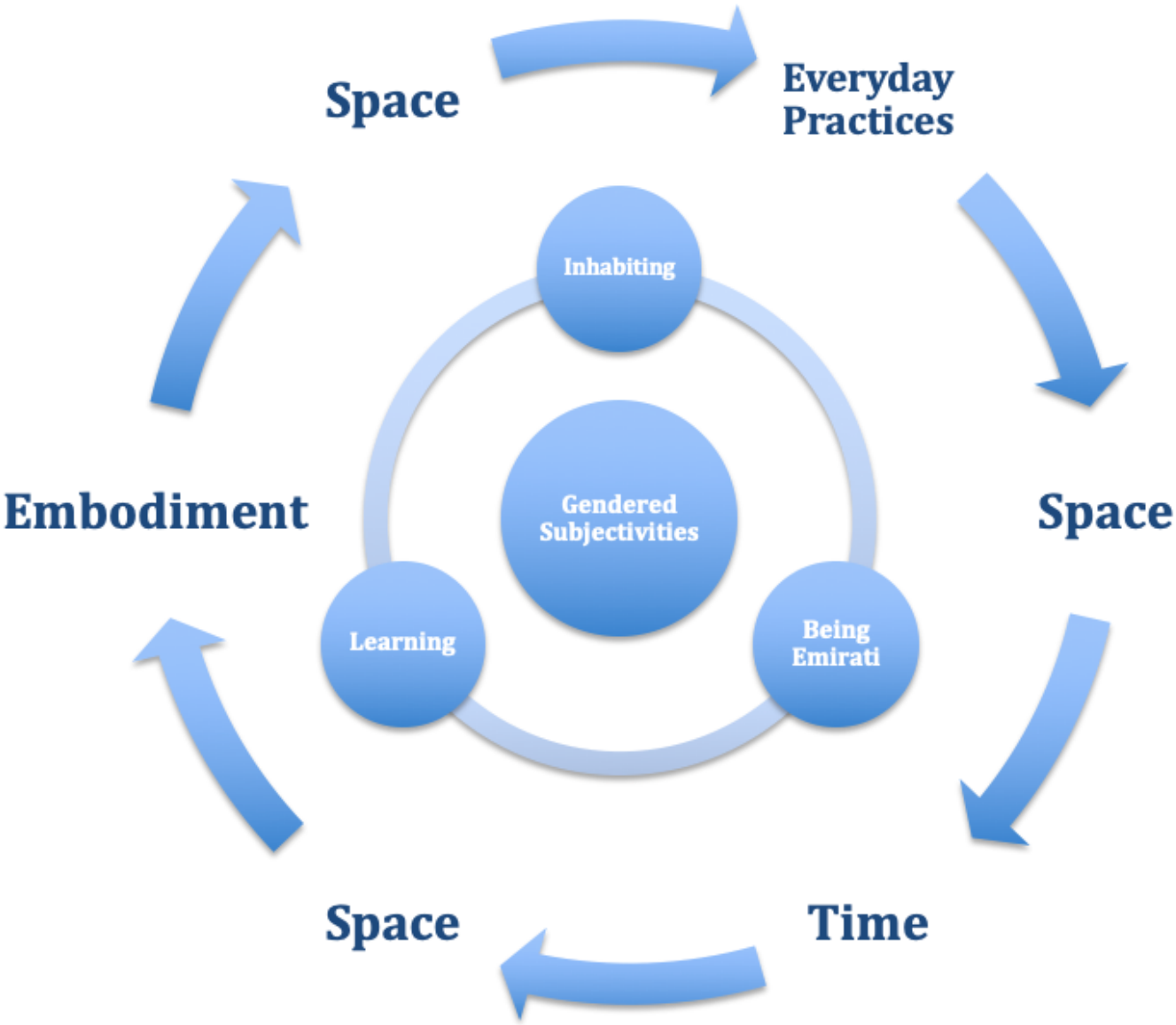


Figure 12: Analytical Guide

3.8 Methodological Reflections

Before moving into the detailed discussion of the findings I reflect on two issues that have shaped the nature of the research.

3.8.1 Quality in Qualitative Research

Considering issues of quality this thesis requires judgment criteria to reflect its epistemological grounding. I turn to the discussion of Amis and Silk (2008) who proffer three research orientations to quality within social science: foundationalist; quasi-foundationalist and nonfoundationalist approaches. Placing myself in a research era beyond the 'narrative turn' and the 'crisis of representation' I do not intend my thesis to be judged by foundationalist criteria that incorporate realistic writing styles and determinants of quality that encompass validity, reliability, objectivity and generalizability. My work sits more comfortably straddling quasi and nonfoundational lines in a space that is accepting of pluralistic blends. My personal orientation is towards a nonfoundationalist approach, which I suggest from its ethical standpoint has a bent towards emancipatory, participatory and collaborative research and an intention towards advocacy on behalf of the researched. My thesis embraces polyvocality and highlights social change as well as enlightening the paradoxical within the participants' societal positions. I have adopted an evocative emotive writing style and embedded my own subjectivities and self-awareness into the textual narrative, aiming to hold myself accountable and aiming to affect my readers both emotionally and intellectually. In doing so I have focused on the embodied sense of a lived experience (ibid.) that sits at the heart of nonfoundationalist methodologies.

However, I cannot escape the constraining factors that prevent my work from truly conforming to nonfoundationalist assertions. As research being undertaken for an Educational Doctorate particular academic guidelines and institutional principles have to be followed. In this regard the proxies of quasi-foundational research are used as principles to ensure quality and demonstrate trustworthiness (ibid.). These are

> *credibility* (e.g., through prolonged engagement with the field, member checking, and triangulation), *transferability* (provision of sufficient detail in accounts to allow readers to appreciate if insights can be transferred to

other settings), *dependability* [creating an audit trail by documenting methods used and the logic behind results and conclusions drawn], and *confirmability* (e.g., providing a reflexive, self-critical account that exposes inherent biases in the work, and triangulation) (ibid., p.464).

These criteria can be witnessed throughout the thesis, in the explicit descriptions of the methods and methodologies used through to the reflexive account of the enquiry to provide an honest and open testimony of the process. Moreover, the research setting of a government-funded institution in Dubai and my own position as an expatriate academic afforded a specific social and political context that prevented conducting ethical research on a nonfoundationalist basis. These constraints include the impossibility of free-flowing research due to the necessity of discretion and requirements of anonymity for the participants and the nature of self-censorship in the UAE (Forstenlechner, Rutledge and Alnuaimi, 2012).

3.8.2 Researcher Positionality and Reflexivity

I address these issues through a reflective recollection of the data collection process (Figures 13. and 14.)

Recollection 4: Reflecting

I had assumed before the research took place that I would be playing the dual role of teacher and researcher. I was aware of the potential conflicts that could take place and I put contingencies in place to ensure that research participants and other students in the class were treated equally. I had made sure that none of the research activities were assessed activities. From the outset of the interviews, I quickly became aware that I was more than teacher-researcher. For some I was a role model – a woman who was pursuing education at the highest level, whilst being a working mother and a wife. For these students, their motivation for taking part in the study was to support me on this journey. Two, who I had known from teaching on previous classes, saw me as a respected teacher with who they already had a good rapport. For others, I was a confidante – they had issues and difficulties in their lives, emanating from

Figure 13. Reflecting on the Data Collection Process (a)

Recollection 4: Reflecting (continued)

social, historical and cultural factors – these students wanted their stories to be told. And for one, she needed to spill her grief, she needed to talk to someone from outside her family and friendship circle, and outside of her cultural boundaries – for her, I was a counsellor. Our sessions, whilst not therapy, were therapeutic.

All the research activities took place outside of class time at agreed hours, before or after class on campus in empty classrooms or in the library at tables in an open area on the ground floor. Despite the impersonal setting of these interviews, they were intimate occasions. We would sit together at a desk, sometimes next to each other, sometimes opposite each other. Other students who were on the course would occasionally pop in and drop off their books, or pick up a bag, lending an informality to the occasion but ever respectful, cognizant of the research setting. Personal information was disclosed on a reciprocal basis - tears were shed, laughter shared, commiserations and congratulations distributed, ambitions revealed, misgivings, regrets and doubts issued. Frequently towards the end of each research program due to lack of time within the shortened semester and when I knew the participants better, we met at coffee shops and restaurants at public locations in malls and shopping centres across Dubai at various times of the day and night, weekdays and weekends. These interviews were the most open and interesting, re-listening to them I am swept back to each location: Mouza at Kinokuniya Bookshop café in Dubai Mall overlooking the fountains and Burj Khalifa; eating coffee ice-cream with Alyazia at Haagen-Daas café in Jumeirah; sharing mushroom risotto late one Ramadan evening with Hind in Town Centre Mall; coffee with Zainab; and a late lunchtime meal followed by a visit to the beauty salon with Reem. I consider myself privileged to have spent time with these ordinary, yet extraordinary women and to have gained their trust and confidence. The methodologies I employed played their part in this – incorporating a rich reciprocal experience as a research strategy enabled me to achieve the breadth and depth of data that I had hoped embodied interviewing would offer.

Figure 14. Reflecting on the Data Collection Process (b)

3.8.3 Summary

The methodology section of this thesis has outlined the ways in which I have taken paradigmatic and conceptual ideas to create a strongly aligned set of methods and practices with the intention of surfacing multiple facets of understanding within a rigorous methodological framework. My hope is that I will be judged to have produced a thesis, which by following appropriate strategies of inquiry and acknowledging my own inherent biases (Smith and Hodkinson, 2009) makes a significant contribution to the field of feminist and educational research in the UAE. My intention is that it can be judged to meet the standards of quasifoundational approaches but also be acknowledged as observing elements of an emerging nonfoundational stance. In summary, I intend this thesis to make a small, but significant contribution to the field of ACS in its partial, situated approximation of the reality of Emirati women students' lived experiences.

PART 2

LIVE WIRE

Like a live wire, the subject channels what's going on around it in the process of its own self-composition. Formed by the coagulation of intensities, surfaces, sensations, perceptions and expressions, it's a thing composed of encounters and the spaces and events it traverses or inhabits.

Things happen. The self moves to react, often pulling itself someplace it didn't exactly intend to go.

Kathleen Stewart
(2007, p.72)

INTERVIEW

Me: If you get your degree, how will this change things for you?

Reem: I will feel more confident that I could do the things that I wanted to achieve and of course I will try to find my place in my country where I can work and live alone and be happy…I believe that women are stronger than the man… even if he has just one issue he just gives up

4 Being Emirati

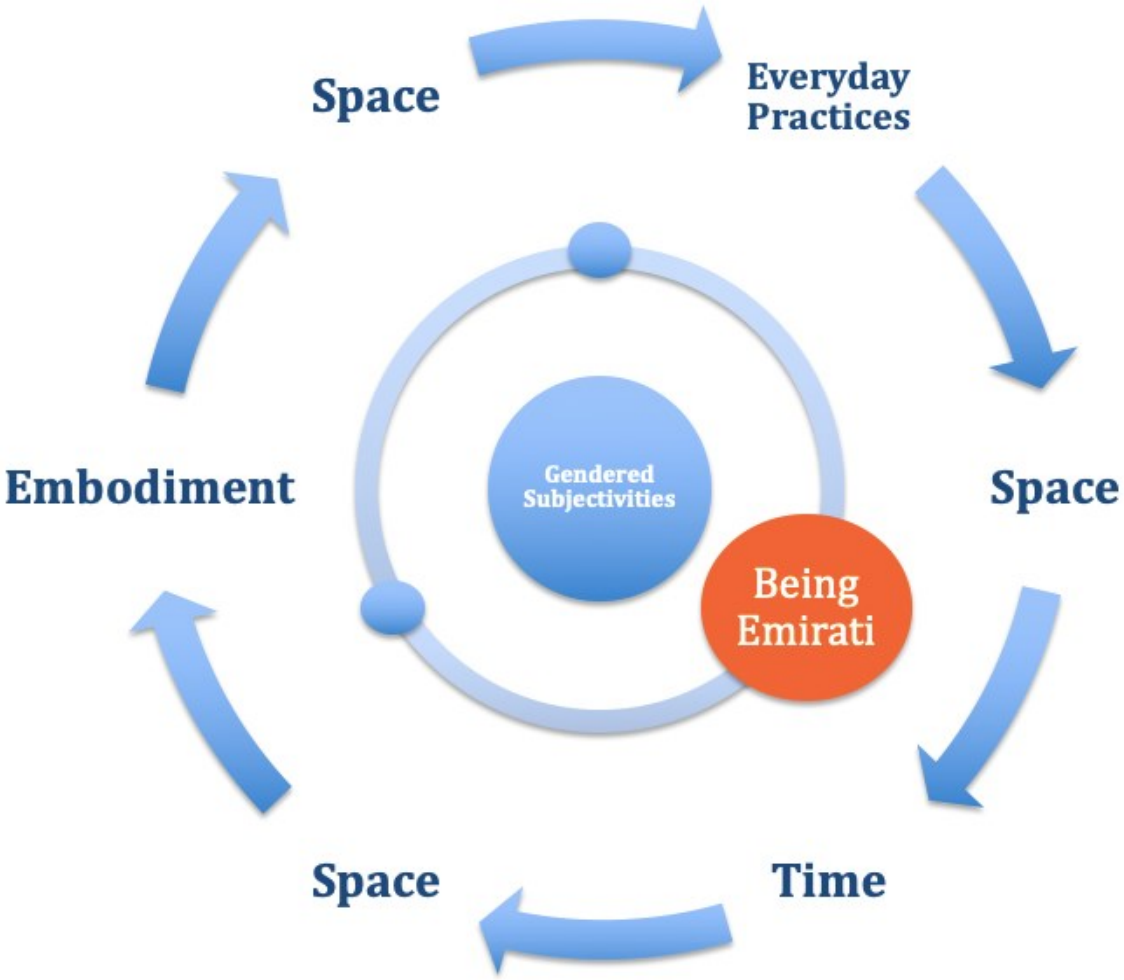
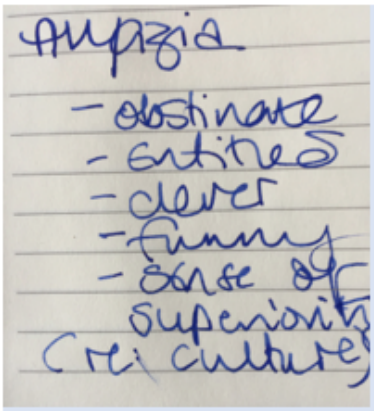


Figure 15. Analytical Guide: Chapter Focus - Being Emirati

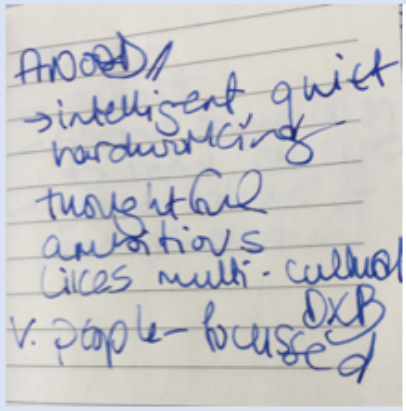
4.1 Introductions

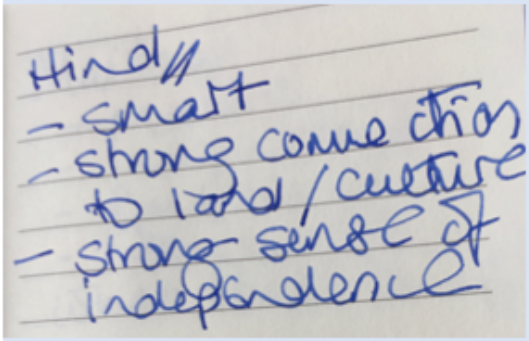
The data analysis rests on an understanding of each participant's individual circumstances and the ways in which their lives integrate with/respond to the affective-discursive practices of the Dubai/Emirati cityscape. I introduce the participants through facts and my own "head memories" (Figures 16 & 17.) and then through their voices.



Alyazia, 24, is a Corporate Communication student and the only one of the participants who is not employed or intending to look for work after graduation. Adamant she doesn't want salaried employment. Youngest of three daughters, both sisters are married and she currently lives with her recently retired mother. Her father died around 20 years ago and her mother never remarried. Successful professional poet and is considering an engagement proposal from a suitor who she met through her poetry

Anood, 23, about to graduate from a 4-year Bachelor of Health Science in Medical Imaging. She is single, average sized family, two brothers and a sister. She lives in the family home with her father, mother and siblings. After graduation hoping to find employment in the public sector either in a hospital or the Community Development Agency.





Hind, 30 and is married with a two-year old son. She is working full-time in a Dubai Government entity in the Human Resources department. She is about to graduate from the Applied Media program with a degree in Corporate Communication.

Maitha is 29 and works full-time at the Dubai Transportation Agency where she has been for the past five years. Enrolled on a Business degree majoring in Human Resources, studies in the evenings. Her mother is also widowed, lives with her mother and her other brothers and sisters. Single - marriage not on the horizon. She intends to study for her Master's degree once she graduates.

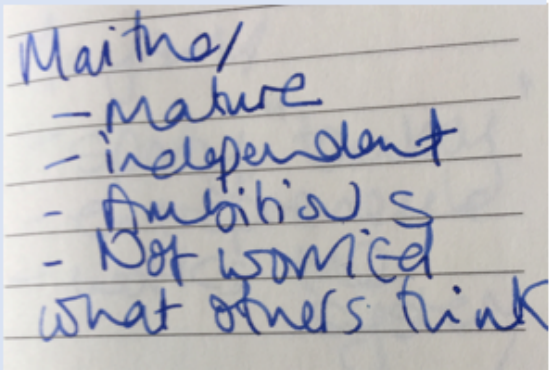
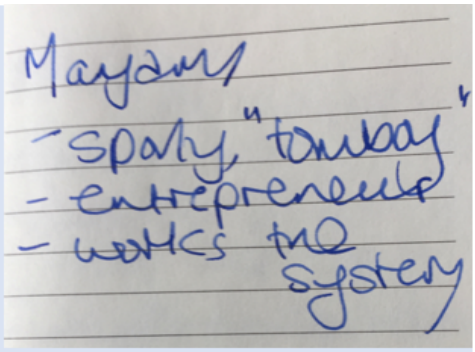
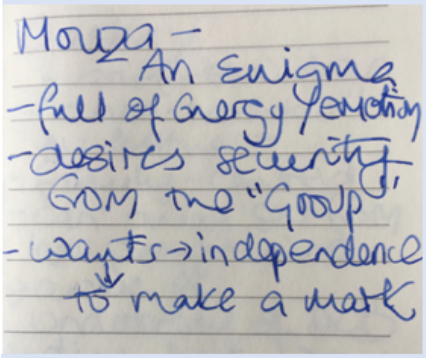


Figure 16. Head Memories and Participant Profiles (a)

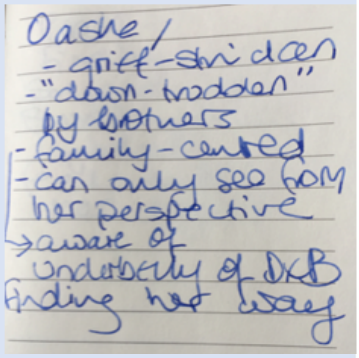
Maryam, 24, graduating from the Corporate Communication program. Spends half of her time in the family home and half of her time living with her brother. Shares a car with younger brother, constantly competing for its use. Not very interested in her studies but determined to graduate. Loves sport - plays in college football/basketball teams. Entrepreneur – with own small video business - wedding videos. She ploughs all extra money back into the business to buy the latest equipment. Wants security of full-time employment after graduation.

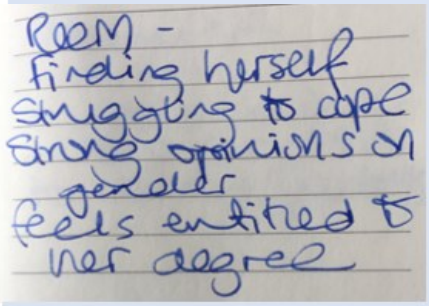




Mouza is the youngest participant in the study at 22 years old. Like Hind she is graduating from the Corporate Communication programme in Applied Media but as she doesn't work her studies take place in the morning. Mouza unusually is an only child. Her father was an older man who died when Mouza was very young and she has no memory of him. She lives with her mother, who has never remarried and is in her early forties. Mouza is single.

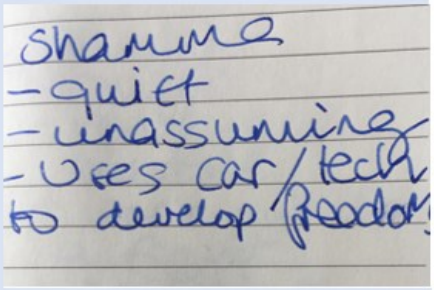
Oasha is 23 and is graduating from the same program as Anood. She comes from a very large family and has around five brothers and five sisters. She is the youngest of her siblings and has a twin sister, Lamya who has just graduated with a Bachelor of Education program from the same college. Oasha's father has recently passed away leaving a widow. Oasha's father had married multiple wives over the course of his life and as was common in the 1980s, Oasha's mother had come to live in the UAE from India. Oasha's older brother has now become the head of the family.

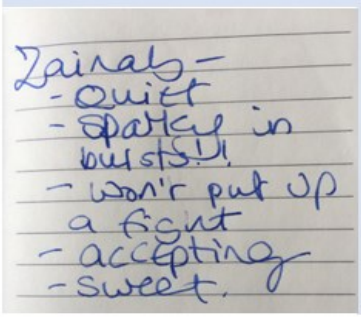




Reem is also 30 and attempting to graduate from the Education Faculty but is struggling to get the required 6.5 grade in the IELTS exam that will allow her to matriculate with a joint HCT/University of Melbourne degree. Reem is both a student and a homemaker. She is married with five young sons all under the age of ten and is currently engaged in seeking a divorce and gaining custody of her children as her husband recently took a second wife.

Shamma is the quietest and shyest of the participants. She is 23 and graduating from the Computer and Information Science faculty with a degree in Computer Security. She is single and lives at home with her mother and father and three other siblings. She is hoping to work after she graduates.





Zainab is a creative arts student, 23 and graduating in Graphic Design from the Applied Media program. She comes from a relatively conservative background and a medium-sized family of 6-7 brothers and sisters. She doesn't drive. Zainab is single and looking for work.

Figure 17. Head Memories and Participant Profiles (b)

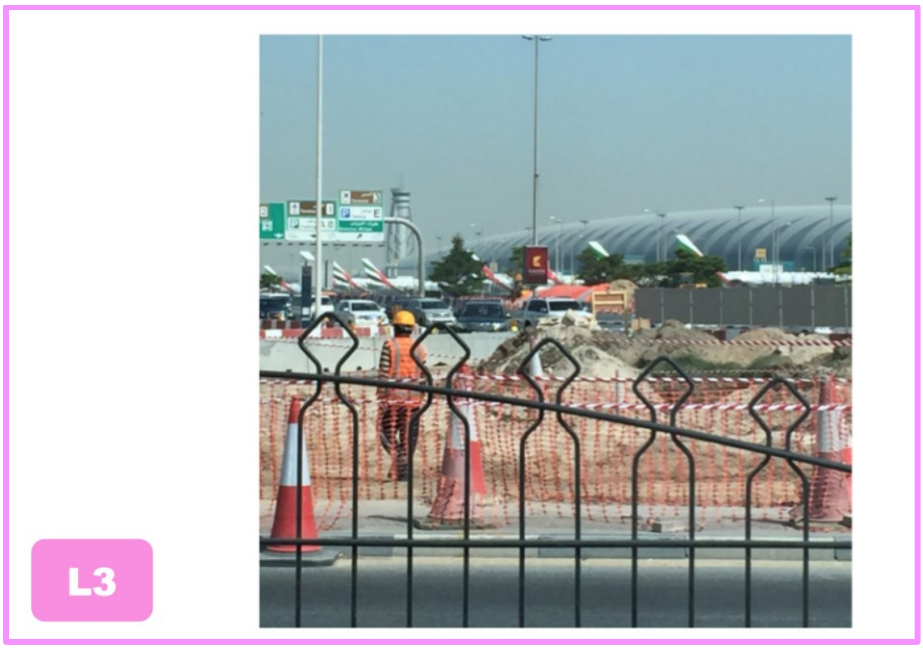


Figure 18. Photo-Elicitation Image (Labourers 3)

I miss my country…I can't stay out the country more than ten days…I went to London last year, for ten days… I wanted to come back on the fifth day, I can't stay out, I feel sad…I can't, I can't…I just stay in the hotel

Maryam June 2017

Figure 19. Social Media Image "My City" (Participant-Generated - Oasha)

Dubai is the place I love and I want to be…I don't like to be in other places…I remember that college took us to Al Ain Zoo and I felt that I didn't belong to Al Ain…when I came back on the road when I saw the sign I felt I missed you Dubai and I don't want to go out of Dubai

Oasha June 2016

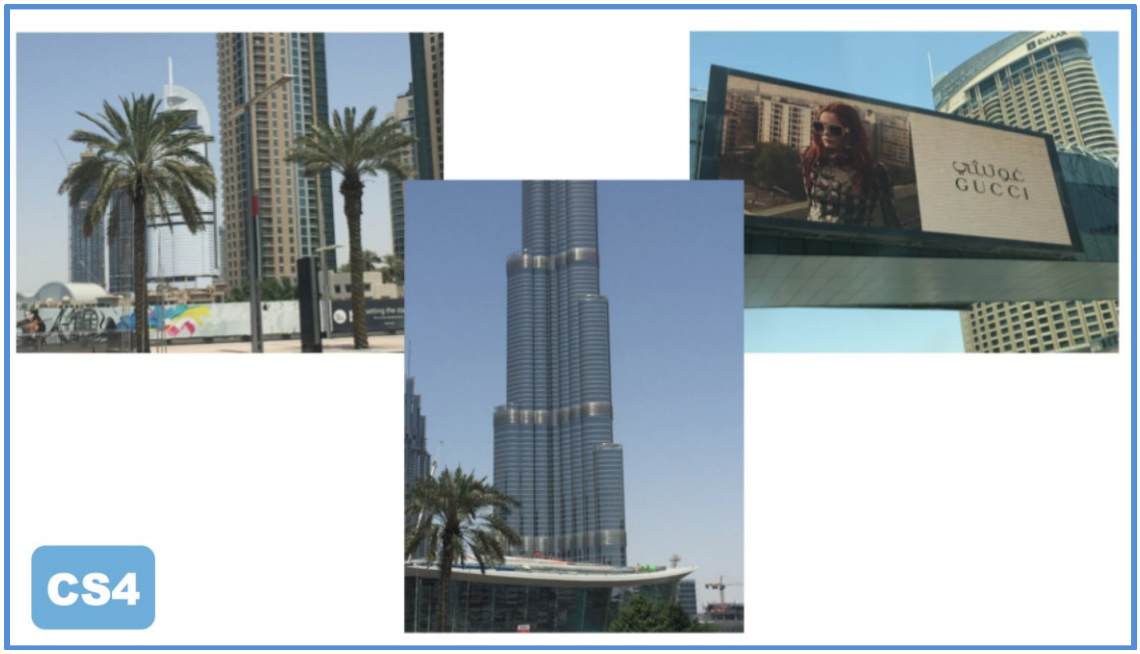


Figure 20. Photo-Elicitation Image (Cityscape 4)

Me: So why do you like the towers and not these old buildings?

Reem: They are too high and they are like catching the sky… I feel like they are tall…and I am feeling a big breath…coming inside, but the other buildings [in Deira] make me feel stuck

Three quotes. Three examples from many I could have chosen to evidence the strength of the lived body emerging through the data. Maryam speaks to her country, Oasha to her city and Reem to the cityscape – responsive emotions to the surrounding space, showing the capacity of the body to affect and be affected. Their words bring to life the interconnections of space, time embodiment and daily practice: meaning made through the body.

The chapter title, *Being Emirati* assumes a political identity. The word Emirati interpellates citizens, in Althusser's terms as political subjects, members of a nation-state, but is a neologism, in both Arabic and English, translating perhaps as "Statey" or "Statish". Throughout the thesis I use the term Emirati, but the data suggested that *Being Emirati* is deeply tied to their home emirate, to Dubai. The narratives are grounded in Dubai and speak of differences between themselves and Emiratis from other emirates, and therefore, from the outset it is vital to situate the study firmly in

the city of Dubai and not to extrapolate findings to other emirates. Within these contextual boundaries, this chapter draws out what it means to be both Emirati (that is, a citizen of the UAE) and from Dubai. It hones in on intra-Emirati issues, the relations between Emirati women students, their compatriots, their nation/city and cityscape. Conceptions of layered identity and its encasing of participants from the exterior shed light on the ways that disciplinary discourses and practices circulate and reveal their impacts on subjectivity constitution. All of the data gathered is steeped in everyday practices that evidence the embodied ways in which *Being Emirati* materialises. In this chapter Al-Qasimi's (2020) abstractions of subjects of privilege and precarity are brought to life. As these notions emerge from the data our understandings of how the indebted subject actualises are given more nuance.

4.1.1 Growing up with Spatial/Temporal Transformations

> My mother only finished sixth grade, because she was the daughter of the *Mutawa*, the one who teaches Islamic, like at that time it was like *Ayeb* for a girl to study, so she studied much later on and my grandmother she doesn't know how to write…and so I am the first girl in our family who has finished college and I don't want to be covered up so it's kind of clash in thoughts what I wear, and do and don't do…
>
> Mouza Interview June 2016

Taking up Massey's propositions, Mouza's words reveal inter-relationality, multiplicity and a sense of in-the-making/under construction – 'stories-so-far' (Massey, 2005, p.9) Mouza's words enact an historical/temporal and spatial journey – space, operating relationally to reveal 'a bundle of trajectories' (Anderson, 2008, p.231) – one in which time and space co-exist. Her words blend the intimately local – the essence of both present and past – with the global; Mouza, an individual in the here-and-now with her familial lineage – three women living in the same household, representing 'contemporaneous plurality' (Massey, 2005, p.9). Mouza's words and mind-set witness the movement away from a collective conception of the world towards that of the individual. Her voice brings to life processual gendered spaces and educational spaces, commingling the multiplicities and foregrounding heterogeneity that operates over space and time. Mouza's words give access to the voice of post-oil generation of women finding their place in the world; revealing a picture of process and becoming.

Emirati women student's emplacement is frequently framed by their acceptance-as-given of conditions of ordinariness and normality, but is in fact, intricately connected to the historicity of Dubai. Their formative memories emerged at the beginning of the millennium and thus their perceptions of the city around them starkly contrast to those born a decade earlier. Their formative years, during Dubai's rapid transformation, gives this group an outlook on their city, nation and the world that is under-theorised from a spatial and affective perspective. This chapter surfaces evidence of the creation of new selves and subjectivities that link the personal, political, economic and social.

4.2 The Shifting Regulation of Identity

Throughout this section, I conceptualise identity as encasement from the outside. Theorising through the data I consider how shifting modes of identity understanding and regulation emerge as affective practices that impact subjectifying processes. I begin with a consideration of spatial-temporal identities and think through the ways that these have evolved since the creation of the UAE and their relationship to traditions, heritage and national symbols.

4.2.1 From Interregional Identifications to Nation-state

> …you know the women in Saudi they all wear their full *niqab* and then they come here and hair outside because they can't do anything there so here they do everything…and the men, as if they never saw a woman in their life… in London, there was this thing in Hyde Park where they took a duck and they cooked it and the local people they called the police and said we don't want Saudis …. they are horrible people
>
> Alyazia June 2017

Alyazia's words, delivered with some disdain, criticise Saudi women's transgression of Islamic cultural norms, the Saudi vision of Islam, the lack of freedoms in Saudi Arabia, Saudi men for their sexual attitudes and a lack of civilised behaviour. As she does so, her tone is replete with other emotions; pride in her assertion of the elevated status of the UAE vis-a-vis Saudi Arabia; honour – a more respectable nation, a more civilised nation with greater freedoms and better version of government and religiosity. Invoking her understanding of "Emiratiness", she emanates pride in a historically embedded sense of culture and exudes an essence of reputational standing.

As Alyazia speaks of identity as conceived by the nation-state, her words elide the deep interregional connectivity of the *Khaleeji* region evidenced by the kinship ties and connections of this group of participants (Appendix 10). Arab Gulf states are political constructs, nation states carved out of loose interregional geographies to make sense of geo-political transformations of the mid-twentieth century. National identities have been formulated, manufactured, mythologized, and fantasised. Identity discourses have emerged that formulate nationhood as an eventualised state of affairs with individual mythologies assigned to each nation (Lawson and Al

Naboodah, 2008) and in spite of significant commonalities between the Arab Gulf nations, differentiations of cultural characteristics are now distinctly perceived by Arab Gulf nationals (Akinci, 2019).

Massey (2005) explains the contrasting worldviews of the Aztecs and Spanish invaders as a conceptual shift understood through space. I argue a similar shift has occurred in this territory. Interrelations between regions of the Arabian Gulf were strong, fluid and heterogenous (Onley, 2005). Kinship links tied community groups across/along/through/over the body of water, indeed small urban sites up and down the Arabian Gulf were spheres of multiplicity, constantly being made and unmade, as the fortunes of each rose and fell according to the political, economic and social currents of the time (Villiers, 1966). Life was precarious: Dubai's fortunes, for example, rose in the early twentieth century due to a booming pearl trade and then collapsed into economic decay when the pearling business was overtaken by Japan's artificial pearl manufacture. From being the pre-eminent entrepôt in the southern Arabian Gulf, Dubai fell into famine and extreme poverty (Krane, 2010). I argue that there was an acceptance of precarity metaphorically conceived as equating to the tidal rise and fall, predicated upon the harshness of life due to climatic and environmental conditions (Heard-Bey, 2005). The nation-state imaginary replaces this fluid worldview of time/space and regionally-conceived identity with a tamed bounded spatiality, homogenised accounts of the past and temporal notions of moving forwards marked by a singular focus on futurity, modernisation and development (Massey, 2005).

Biopolitical technologies/tools, that we could conceive of as pedagogical forces (Ellsworth, 2005) are deployed to regulate the behaviour and engender a positive attitude of the population and the self towards this new identity. In the UAE, symbols of 'banal nationalism' (Antonsich, 2016) such as flags, heritage and cultural traditions – have been deployed to forge an affective response to the nation (Ahmed, 2014). Nevertheless, these symbols and icons are at the mercy of time and space. The next section explores the manifestation of the relationship between these symbols and the participants.

4.2.2 Regulating Identity: Nation-state Values and Iconography

Figure 21. Photo-Elicitation Image (Heritage 1)

4.2.2.1 A Fading Sense of Heritage

Let me start with relief – from time and time I visited the Heritage Village… not only to see the place where my parents and grandparents were living …I love sitting in that area with the old ladies and chatting with them because this is my place, my history, my mother and father they are from this place and loss because there are few UAE citizens understand very well what is our heritage, what is our history, and how they lived and maybe they went through globalization and they don't even think about it and sadness because I know that there is a wonderful memories of my parents and grandparents and even the Sheikh…like I can see here the Sheikh Zayed picture and…when you see him like …you feel mixed emotions, relief and sadness…we are teaching our children that it's not Sheikh Zayed…he is Baba Zayed, Father Zayed and we teach them now that it's Baba Mohammed and we try to get the feeling that it's part of a family

Hind Pair Interview – June 2016

it makes me feel grateful...when I saw the streets …my country and Sheikh Zayed and I feel happiness when I see him…he cared about us…he was like a father to us… I feel longing because it was such a beautiful days with my

> father, he lived these days and he was with the Sheikhs and when he told me the stories I want to go back and live these stories and loyalty because we belong there – our history our base our root is there and we have to tell everyone and every Emirati has to be proud of it
>
> Oasha – Pair Interview – June 2016

After a lesson, in a classroom Hind and Oasha sat together looking at the pictures, quiet and thoughtful, before they spoke. When they did, their responses fed off each other, intense, affective responses reflecting the discourse of gratitude that pervades *Vision2021's* preface, calling on UAE citizens to be thankful to the Founding Fathers. Their words speak for themselves, needing little analysis. These are words from the heart that strongly corroborate Al-Qasimi's indebted subject (2020) bearing witness to an emotive, affective connection that is depicted in terms of the familial nation. A clear sense of self emerges that aligns to the heteropatriarchal system of governance (ibid.) enlivened by the affective flows of gratitude, need and nostalgia.

Whilst Hind and Oasha responded with an emplaced embodied sense of heritage, history and culture, the same images evoked minimal engagement from the other participants. Some glossed quickly over these photos – I didn't probe them if there was no spontaneous emotional response – I took the lack of response to be as telling as a response itself. Watching closely, I noticed others hesitate, as if they thought there should have been something they could say but they struggled to find it and so moved on. Mouza and Maryam confirmed that the pictures of the Heritage Village evoked no emotions and that they had never visited. Maryam, noting these were "only" tourist sites, declared *there is no need for Emiratis to visit – what would we gain from this? And we know it all anyway.* Her tone was dismissive.

Knowing for Maryam was factual, perceived as dates, names and events of the past. The heritage site had no affective resonance suggesting a detachment from the space and time commemorated in Heritage Village. I suggest that for Maryam the affects of precarity and privilege are circulating in alternative ways. Current status as an Emirati affords a privileged, modernised lifestyle, a far from the poverty and simplicity of the pre-oil era. Heritage sites trace a line back to precarious times and there is a both a fear of, and shame associated with those times (Partrick, 2012). Some

participants are reluctant to acknowledge ties to the pre-oil era representing as it does a lack of development that sits in sharp contrast to their contemporary way of life – a historical disjuncture (Bristol - Rhys, 2009) – that sits uncomfortably with self-perceptions that they wish to project.

4.2.2.2 Preceding the Nation-State: Place Attachment and Identity

Mouza: my family's old life…they lived near the beach and the sea…so we have a thing called *bedu*, people who live in the desert and we still have family names related to *bedu* but my family is *hadr* ….it means we are people who live near the sea, people who like improvement or modern and my mother told me the same thing

Me: It's interesting because a lot of the heritage that is shown is about the *bedu*

Mouza: Yes…and sometimes we forget that we are *hadr*, who live near the sea, like my great grandparents who used to live and work by the sea, work on boats and that is our heritage, maybe that's why I like fish and sushi

*****

Alyazia: I was born here [in Jumeirah] …. I feel like it is part of me. I don't belong to another place. Even if it's not like before and more modern and *khalas*, this is my place…here it's the beach … my family is …fisherman and not from the desert

Me: Not *bedu*…but *hadr*?

Alyazia: Not *bedu* and not *hadr*…like we say *Hal Bahar*…. from the sea. We are all with sea and fishing. You see when I was raised… I was raised in front of the sea

Images of the Arabian Gulf seashore, beaches and boats surfaced the sociocultural identities of Mouza and Alyazia. The "invented traditions" and architecture of Heritage Village failed to move these two students, but the sea was able to. For these two women, socio-cultural histories at an individual and family level have stronger resonance than state-manufactured concepts of patriotism and nationalism.

4.2.2.3 Invoking Identity and the Past

The varied reactions in my data to heritage and cultural sites are somewhat perplexing. Research that uses constructs of culture, national identity, traditions and

heritage report fairly homogenous findings in Emirati women students. For example, Al Sumaiti believes her

> findings demonstrate that, in their experiences of national identity, students relate to aspects from ethno-symbolism and everyday nationalism more than other types of nationalism … they mainly interact with cultural and political aspects in their experiences, which are emphasised from [sic] ethno-symbolism and everyday nationalism. The historical development of nationalism in the UAE also shows that ethno-symbolism plays an active role in developing Emirati national identity (2014, p.216).

One of McClusky's conclusions is that

> Emirati nationality and society were important aspects of participants' lives. They constantly referred to preserving customs and traditions, and maintaining their cultural identity (2017, p.237).

A post-structural response however, allows for difference to emerge and eschews broad-brush conclusions. Importantly, I feel, my refusal to engage with cultural and identity constructs in the data collection process has allowed a more natural flow of ideas out of everyday practices. Cultural and identity constructs did not appear at the forefront of my data. What did appear to make some difference to the affective engagement in national state narratives of Emirati identity was the family background of the Emirati women students. This aligns with Colton's assertion that

> social stratification in the Gulf is based on one's affiliation to the ruling family first and foremost. Whether or not one is considered a national of the country of residence is extremely important in determining one's place in society and entitlements. Among nationals, we see a further breakdown based on whether one shares the same religion of the ruler, tribal connections and regional location (2011, p.39).

Hind's ancestry, for example, is enmeshed in that of the extended ruling tribal family – the Bedu heritage, as upheld in the state heritage narrative sits naturally with her. Mouza and Alyazia have on the other hand a strong localised historic sense of place attachment (rooted in ancestral knowledge) that speaks to a distinctive sociocultural history. They reject state heritage narratives, but importantly share the urban locality with the city's ruling family, the Al Maktoum. Mouza's resistance to the homogenising picture of invented traditions and heritage, is evidenced through a contemporary, globalised culinary update (sushi) of her maritime heritage that aligns with her love

for Manga, Korean soap operas and rock music. On the other side, I am aware from both the literature and personal observations that on occasions, Emiratis from non-Bedouin backgrounds attempt to assert their Emiratiness in overt ways over-emphasising their credentials as *asli,* demonstrating loyalty and gratitude to the ruling families on their social media accounts (personal interview.) and being fastidious in their deployment of national dress (Akinci, 2019), recreating the sense of being more Emirati than Emiratis. Oasha's own ancestral heritage would not be considered as truly Emirati, but Omani. In the paired interview with Hind, she erases her mother's Indian roots and instead emphasises her father's closeness to the ruling family. Her embodied understandings of Emiratiness are lived through her father's experiences of refuge in the Emirates in the presence of the ruling Sheikhs in the early days of the UAE's federation. She performs and asserts her Emiratiness through a historical enactment of her father's belonging and welcome into the ruling entourage.

These partial truths demonstrate nuances of subjectivity construction in a space of identity encasement. They show complexities arising from the multiplicities of Dubai where inter-relations are always unfinished (Massey, 2005). As a pedagogical force, one can posit that the commoditised idealised image of the Bedouin past (Hawker, 2013) will decrease in resonance over time and that efforts to reimagine/rekindle new forms of Emirati identity will be an on-going concern. Significantly, it can be surmised that Sheikh Zayed is becoming a more distant figure for Emirati women students: the founder of the UAE, died in 2004 and thus his iconographic status is diminishing for the post-oil generation. Jones' (2015) contention that the rulers are aware of the need to repurpose their legitimacy and of the requirement to revitalise their image in ways that connect more effectively with their citizenry seems to be well-placed.

4.2.2.4 Iconography and Values: Re-imagining a Dubai Identity

Figure 23 Statue of Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid's Three-Finger Salute (right)

Figure 22. Social Media Image (Ramadhan Market – Hind Instagram) (left)

> I was with my sister and we saw a car on the road and I said to her maybe it's one of the Sheikh's' cars and she said it's maybe Sheikh Mohammed…and he went the same area as us and she said Allah, Allah, please let him go with us and eat Iftar…what shocked us most was that our table was in the corner and his table was just over there, no barriers, no separation, just like he's a normal person and he's saying hi and taking pictures with whoever wants, and when we take the video and he makes the sign
>
> Hind June 2016

We are sitting in a restaurant late one Ramadhan evening, sharing dates and coffee. Hind proudly shows me a 20-second video clip of Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum, the ruler of Dubai, with a small entourage, smiling towards the camera, and

making his three-fingered sign. Her intense response to her Ramadhan evening experience a few nights earlier confirms Sheikh Mohammed as a leader who has mastered the art of celebrity and connection with citizens. His presence evokes excitement, love and joy, and a connection to a familial nation – the Ruler of Dubai as the city's patriarch coalesces in Hind's description. Sheikh Mohammed perpetuates the foundational story undertaken in 1971 by his father. Partaking in a simple event, *iftar,* he generates an updated version of the idealised Bedouin leader (Onley and Khalaf, 2006) one who socialises with normal citizens and joins them in their daily activities. His symbolic choice of establishment, the Ramadhan Market (Figure 22.) inspired by the traditional architectural form of old Dubai, enhances and circulates a culturally-constructed imagined community that will be shared on social media platforms. Simultaneously, the canny use of social media has led to his self-invented three finger sign, representing win/victory/love becoming an iconic symbol, that feeds into the Dubai as a branded entity (Figure 23.) (Simpson, 2018). The event, becomes a pedagogical event, a merging of media, architecture and pedagogy (Ellsworth, 2005). The event moves the body such that Hind's physical and emotional joyous reaction endures, embodied and felt – in this moment the mind/body/brain converge. The architecture of event actuates and unfolds social relations of power in a specific space which is followed up by Hind and the Sheikh's use of (social) media 'to activate what is knowable and addressable in and through language, image and signification…as well as …the lived experience of the continuity of the passage into difference and newness' (Ellsworth, 2005, p.127).

4.2.2.5 Subjectivities ←→ Identities

The data, grounded in everyday spatial practices, revealed that Emiratiness, conceived as national identity culturally and symbolically materialised, in Emirati women students' everyday lives was more peripheral than I had anticipated. Aside from Oasha and Hind's accounts, Emiratiness as such, failed to emerge as central to their being or becoming. I believe that to discern contemporary processual formulations of national identity and iconography moving forwards would require a prioritisation of the online environment over the physical. Virtual images/imagery and narratives appear as the arena where these new discursive formations are emerging and my data collection had not engaged extensively with this medium. The

Ramadhan iftar event however, demonstrates the potentialities of the intersections of media, architecture and pedagogy in considering ways of becoming in the Emirati context. Nevertheless, my data generated three further productive themes around notions of *Being Emirati* which form the remainder of the chapter: firstly, the effects and affects of socio-spatial structuring; secondly, the regulation of space that comes with being Emirati; and finally, gendered spatial subjectivities that moderate the ways Emirati women's lives are lived out in the sphere of the everyday.

4.3 Socio-Spatial Structuring: Effects and Affects

Chapter 2 drew attention to the relationship between socio-spatial structuring and authoritarian neoliberalism. Dubai's urban landscape is replete with evidence of how this takes place and this section considers two aspects that emerged through the data that relate specifically to *Being Emirati*: fragmentation and gentrification.

4.3.1 Fragmentation

For Anood, heritage sites recalled not identity but community.

> when I see the museum, I feel comfort … I mean I wish I lived in this time…it was simple, they worked hard and I feel it was nice to live in this time. I mean it's the same, 24 hours but I mean time to be you as a social person I don't know…like they didn't have technology so their relationships with each other were better, with their families and they were more responsible… in the same area, knowing each other, for example, if the son didn't go for prayer in the mosque everybody will be asking, but now… (laughs)
>
> Anood June 2016

Anood's reaction could be sensed through her comportment as she spoke through the affective consequences of community fragmentation. Usually so positive, her shoulders slumped, as she typified currents of loss/nostalgia that swirled through many research conversations. These were stimulated frequently by photographs of *freej* – neighbourhoods inhabited by Emiratis in the 1970s and 1980s – and particularly photographs of older houses and housing complexes. Changing patterns of urban community life emerged as a common thread evinced by yearnings for both simplicity of the past and greater sense of community living. For Anood, the heritage site had unintended consequences, acting as a site of commemoration and loss

(Wetherell, Smith and Campbell, 2018), a temporal and spatial loss that actualises as a corporeal reaction.

*****

> [the neighbours]…they are like strangers … their lives are different…not like before, *yanni*, you should talk with your neighbourhood, visit them…but now no… there is some that we communicate with and I go there sometimes but the others I don't know anything about them… when I was a kid, you should go to the tenth house, I have to go, I know the boys, the girls, everyone
>
> Maryam June 2017

> Before, we knew everyone in this area, if someone passed and where is Shamsa's house, for example, in this area, opposite to the grocery before we knew each other, now we just want to keep with themselves in this house only, without contact with other people … we used to have neighbours, we used to visit them…they came to us
>
> Maitha June 2017

Dubai's urban growth is reminiscent of the periphery-driven Los Angeles model in that it favours decentralisation, poly-centricity and a high degree of fragmentation (Delmelle, 2019). Tracts of deserts on Dubai's periphery provide plentiful land for Emirati homes. These contemporary modern Emirati communities, unlike those formerly based on familial, tribal and kinship bonds develop not as organic communal eco-systems but as part of strategic municipal urban planning and land usage (Elsheshtawy, 2010) overseen by an active Dubai Government Land Department and funded by government-backed housing schemes (for example, MBR Housing Program, Zayed Housing Fund). These institutions manage the allocation of land plots to Emirati citizens and offer long-term interest-free housing and land development loans. However, reflecting an ideology of authoritarian neoliberalism, spaces of consumption and luxury, are prioritised over the communal, meaning there is limited provision for communal, civic or social spaces such as sports clubs, youth clubs or public libraries for example.

The affective responses reflect experiences of on-going processes of urbanisation (Khalaf, 2006) and reveal a dynamic and spatialised cityscape. Neighbourhood living has transformed in a just over a decade. Maitha and Maryam both live in a suburb that can be now classified as a mixed area, where expatriates and Emiratis have come to

live in relatively close proximity. Both Maitha and Maryam bear witness to a local ecology of emplaced cultural social, environmental processes (Pink, 2011) which has led to a depleted emotional sense of community belonging.

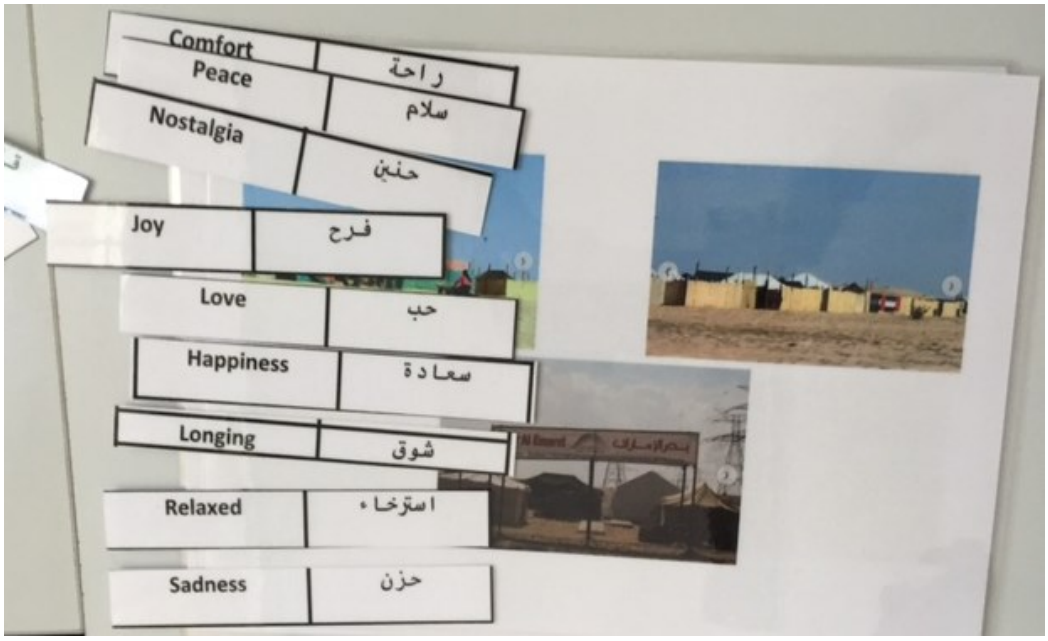


Figure 24 Data collection discussion with Anood

> you know in our new towns - they are lifeless - you see no one is related and they don't know anyone and when I see like this [an older neighbourhood] it is a good thing…
>
> Anood June 2016 (Figure 24.)

Anood lives in a new Emirati residential area and also speaks to diminished forms of social interaction between Emiratis. Serving the emerging middle and upper class of Emirati society (Khalaf, 2006), this form of socio-spatial structuring has resulted in the creation of Emirati enclaves (Partrick, 2012) made up of nuclear-family dwellings. Whilst one such aim of this type of neighbourhood may be to provide a sense of cultural homogeneity to act as a bulwark against cultural loss and the demographic imbalance (Kanna and Hourani, 2016) participant comments show that paradoxically this housing regime has led to greater communal fragmentation. Despite *Vision2021's* conceptualisation of Emirati residential communities as well-knit communities, the density of housing for Emirati citizens has significantly

decreased over the past two decades as compact housing units have made way for individual plots and large detached houses, frequently with high surrounding walls (Alawadi, 2018). Cars have become a necessity for neighbourhood movement to the corner shop or mosque.

For the Emirati, fragmentation of community is a thus a question of reformulated relations, relations being constantly made and unmade (Massey, 2005), at once a consequence and a reflection of privilege. The loss of community does not lead to material inequalities, indeed, Emiratis are at the apex of the wealth pyramid in the UAE, but the effect and subsequently affect is on the ways in which the community is able to interact together, to form bonds and to have meaningful social interaction. In loosening the community bonds of tribe and kinship at a local level, the creation of fragmented Emirati residential enclaves serves to embolden state-citizen relations. Drawing again on Al-Qasimi's (2020) indebted subject, we can see here the ways in which new residential spaces forge a bond of indebtedness between the state and citizen. A sense of entitlement to material wealth is harboured by sentiments of Emirati exceptionalism (see Chapter 5) that run through *Vision2021* and other state narratives. Acceding to these emotions, and through the acceptance of land grants and loans, from state-supported vehicles of patronage, the post-oil generation of Emiratis become, at the outset of their working and/or married lives, embroiled in a dynamic of credit-debt with the state. Both materially and immaterially, this enables them to be subjects of privilege but the expectation of a productive return, through economic regeneration and procreativity is prevailed upon them. Failure to repay the monetary loan blocks access to further benefits/opportunities offered by the state and causes immaterial, but socially significant, reputational damage to the kinship group. Failure to reproduce remains a stigma. Privilege links at all levels to precarity. This emerges as the spatial iteration of Al-Qasimi's 'duty and symbolic indenture' (2020, p.78)

4.3.2 Gentrification

Me: If you had a choice, how would like Dubai to be?

Alyazia: [Long pause] I don't know. I never thought about this thing but this is good but what I know now is that we are about to lose our sea places. Where is Jumeirah Beach? Here they close it. There they close it. It's all artificial, no sea, no beach, no nothing. Before it was all about the sea and the beach. And this is the only one that I wish if I had a chance to change this is I would change

On another occasion, Hind, who loved the desert, expressed her misgivings over a recent housing development scheme

> I don't know if you remember I told you we like to go to the desert and sit and we used to have one area out in Khawaneej 2 and we used to sit over there and now we can't because it's transformed to a living area and that area was one of the best areas to sit
>
> Hind June 2016

There was no sense of anger but a sense of inevitability. This topic required sensitivity and discretion as a researcher and at these junctures I found myself self-censoring. I had often heard rumours of disquiet amongst Emiratis about various urban developments but to push too hard felt unethical. The quotes above are as much critique as I could extract on this issue. For this reason, the analysis remains open and unanswered and as I transcribed these sections, the word wistful came to mind.

Dubai's gentrification model contrasts to those that see creative industries at the forefront of urban transformation (Bin Shabib and Bin Shabib, 2015), largely due to factors which govern land and real estate ownership. Dubai Government as the biggest landowner in the city has been the driving force behind gentrification across Dubai to make way for mixed-use commercial/residential communities. This has resulted in the appropriation of cultural/social/environmental spaces and the loss of historic communities, predominantly older Emirati communities. *Shabiyat Shorta* (Police Village), a long-standing traditional community on a valuable tract of land near Burj Khalifa was demolished to make way for City Walk (Alawadi, 2017) (see

Appendix 11). The original 1983 camel-racing track was moved 40 kilometres inland to make way for a large freehold residential development for expatriates. Other examples include the appropriation and subsequent gentrification of traditional fishing beaches into high-end leisure destinations (kitebeach.ae, 2019) and the development of Dubai Canal which saw the loss of over half the area of a popular, well-used public park (El Amrousi *et al.*, 2019). Such projects fit neatly into Brand Dubai's logic and Dubai's polycentric, fragmented, segregated urban planning (Hertog, 2017) yet their consequences do not go unnoticed by the local populace.

This speaks to the depiction of the post-oil generation as subjects of power and subjugation (Al-Qasimi, 2020). In the absence of civil society and any aspect of political participation (Peterson, 2012) Emiratis are emasculated when it comes to spatial planning regimes as there are no channels to challenge planning applications. It is through space that subjugation and disenfranchisement is felt and experienced. As Reem enunciated when discussing the demographic imbalance *maybe we are a country that is used to being shut up.*

4.4 Regulation of the Self

Thus far I have considered the ways in which notions of national identity currently in a state of flux have encased Emirati women from the outside and provoked multiplicitous reactions in terms of the way that these conceptions have been internalised in the process of subjectivity construction. These have ranged from strong and secure attachments to Dubai as a place and space of belonging that has with historic links to the past and to Dubai, as a place and space firmly grounded in the present/future. I have also shown how technologies of socio-spatial structuring have resulted in feelings of powerlessness, indebtedness and disintegration of strong communal bonds rooted in physical places. In this coming section I move away from ideas of community to think more incisively around subjective meaning-making as it occurs on an individual basis working through the many facets of the self as presented in the data.

4.4.1 Regulation of the Emirati Self

The requirement to be continually hailed as an Emirati and as part of an extended Emirati family, as the holder and signifier of a national discourse weighs heavily on my participants but I aver that the points made in this section could just as easily relate to Emirati men. In this respect, the arguments made here are about *Being Emirati,* and are less gendered, than those in the subsequent section, 4.4.2. Discussed with humour, exasperation, frustration and irritation, *Being Emirati* implies both judging and being judged.

4.4.1.1 The Spatial Dynamics of Honour and Shame

> … our society it's like whatever your neighbour will see it will not affect you as a person it will affect your family and your house and your big wider family so this part is the part I most hate….
>
> Hind May 2016

This sentiment was echoed by all participants but expressed most vehemently by Hind. In analysing this emotional burden, I am reluctantly compelled to return to the dynamics of honour and shame. Honour and shame have long been negatively associated with Middle Eastern cultures (Stewart, 2015) and I am fully aware of the connotations associated with this. However, time and again, through the interviews the affective flows of honour and shame surfaced, with the controlling conduit being that of gossip. Gossip works to maintain hegemonic discourse dynamics in a Foucauldian sense. In other words, a set of values and beliefs become the foundational cultural practices of a society and preclude alternative ways of thinking, doing or being (Awwad, 2001).

> Gossip serves to unify the community, and establish stability and order that are essential to the survival of the family and society. Gossip, scandal and shame…clarifies cultural and normative behaviours for the society as a whole. (ibid., p.45)

Deviation from established norms violates a family's code of honour, becoming the concern not only of the family but the entire community. It is a fear of shame that unfolds in the regulation of the self in public spaces, driving Emiratis into constant self-surveillance. Conversely, it is the desire for honour and status that materialises in conspicuous consumption and materialistic practices. Affective flows of honour and

shame produce particular practices that are evidenced in spatial and corporeal dynamics. The data in the following two sections evidences the affective spatial responses to the flows of the honour/shame dynamic revealing again the intertwining of privilege and precarity.

4.4.1.2 Concealing Oneself

> Hind: I am one of those who likes high walls…because I want to take…my home is like the place …where I can be peaceful and I can do whatever I want and so if it's not covered…like maybe the neighbours, maybe they will see what I am doing…inside – so I can take it like this…so if I put high trees and then no one can see inside
>
> Oasha: I am in the middle, not too high, not too closed, maybe because if I hide I may miss something outside…but it's good to hide, to have your own privacy so no one can see what you are doing ... it makes you comfortable…
>
> Hind & Oasha Paired Interview June 2016

Whilst the architectural designs of homes and gardens in Emirati residential areas are not conducive to community building or developing neighbourhood acquaintances they are particularly effective at implementing privacy (Figure 25.). All the participants expressed a desire for privacy, exemplified here by Hind and Oasha who further remarked on the necessity of moderating their behaviour in public, for fear of being judged. Oasha was the only participant who freely admitted to having an interest in other's affairs revealing a refreshing openness given that gossip is frowned upon in Islamic thought (Huda, 2019). However, both Mouza and Reem explicitly noted the propensity for neighbourhood gossip

> I notice that in the West people don't have these big walls, it's more open…so here it's more like privacy… and sometimes there are like parties and we don't want people to snoop…
>
> Mouza June 2016

> …the locals…when we stay [live] together, like if we have any simple problem, it will be like news, like you don't want anybody to know, you will be hiding, but if you're in an area where you don't have the same as your country you can feel more freely, you know they will not be interested in your things … I like [Barsha] but now we have local neighbours and they are close, they have walls, and if we have some problems, like maybe shouting in the garden, maybe they will hear, and you will not be happy
>
> Reem June 2016

Reem, with experience of marital problems, is aware of the impact of gossip. The social stigma surrounding marriage and marital problems is challenging (Bromfield, 2014) and even though Emiratis are more widely scattered through diverse neighbourhoods the participants noted how fast news travels through the relatively small Emirati community, particularly with the uptake of social media (Gergani and Salem, 2011). Because of these difficulties, in the second round of interviews I explored participants' preferred type of neighbourhood for residence, majority-Emirati or mixed. Individual preferences emerged, based, I suggest on personality – Maryam, for example, out-going and somewhat non-conformist, indicated that she would prefer to live in a non-local area, where Shamma, quiet and family-oriented preferred a local one.

Figure 25. Typical Emirati villas in an Emirati residential neighbourhood

The affects and emotions of home in these extracts are those that most people might commonly relate to, relaxation, comfort and being at ease. What this suggests to me, though, is that when out of the home, in public, they are on guard, edgy and can never completely relax because of the modern iterations of the honour/shame dynamic. In this regard, it is salient to use Grosz's (1993) conception of the body as a hinge as a means of conceptualising these ideas. In her thinking body as a hinge is 'placed between a psychic or lived interiority and a more socio-political exteriority that produces interiority through the *inscription* of the body's outer surface' (ibid., p.195). Her inscriptive model concerns the processes by which the body is marked, scarred, transformed, and written upon or constructed by the various regimes of institutional, discursive, and non-discursive powers (ibid.). In this sense, the judgements of society through the vector of gossip, discipline the conduct of Emirati subject, through the affective bodily inscriptions or imprints (Ahmed, 2004). There is a sense of fear that moderates behaviour which means that despite Emiratis privileged position in society, it is precariously placed, in that a single transgression can mark not only the transgressor, but, as Hind evokes, the sanctity of the house and the reputation of the nuclear and extended family. As Reichenbach (2015a) astutely notes, it is the Emirati gaze that matters and I suggest, that marks.

4.4.1.3 Presenting Oneself

> …before the fifth of the month I won't have any money I've spent all my money… so I'm trying my best to change my lifestyle I mean for spending the money… like my lifestyle, my food style…and we're building our house is still it's under process … so I have this magazine image in my mind so I want to implement that in my real house…
>
> Hind June 2016

Material presentations and performances take place in the public and virtual sphere, carefully orchestrated and controlled to maintain perceptions to the outside world. As Hind describes her lifestyle to me, talking me through her journey map, she mentions her money worries. She knows she is over-spending and living beyond her means, as do many Emiratis (AlNowais, 2015) but her desires to create a particular image of herself and her life-style that she can display to others surge through her words. Status as an Emirati becomes not only afforded by tribal name, kinship group, national status or class but by an emphasis on the material and particularly luxury in

terms of fashion brands and cars (Vel *et al.*, 2011) and even *abayas* (Kreidler, 2012). Status and meanings of Emiratiness have become attached to the neoliberal circulations of capital and consumerist behaviours (Arthur *et al.*, 2019). The enfolding of status and honour with material wealth is deeply contextual. Material wealth evidences and/or mimics proximity to the centre of Emiratiness, that is the ruling family and thus demarcates kinship and communal ties, a belonging to the extended familial/state trope (James and McLeod, 2014). In other words, it fosters inclusion into fold of Emiratiness. The contraflow is that it works to reinforce exclusion by bolstering notions of Emirati exceptionalism. This can be visualised in consumer spaces for example, special deals for Emiratis in banks and retail outlets (Figure 25).

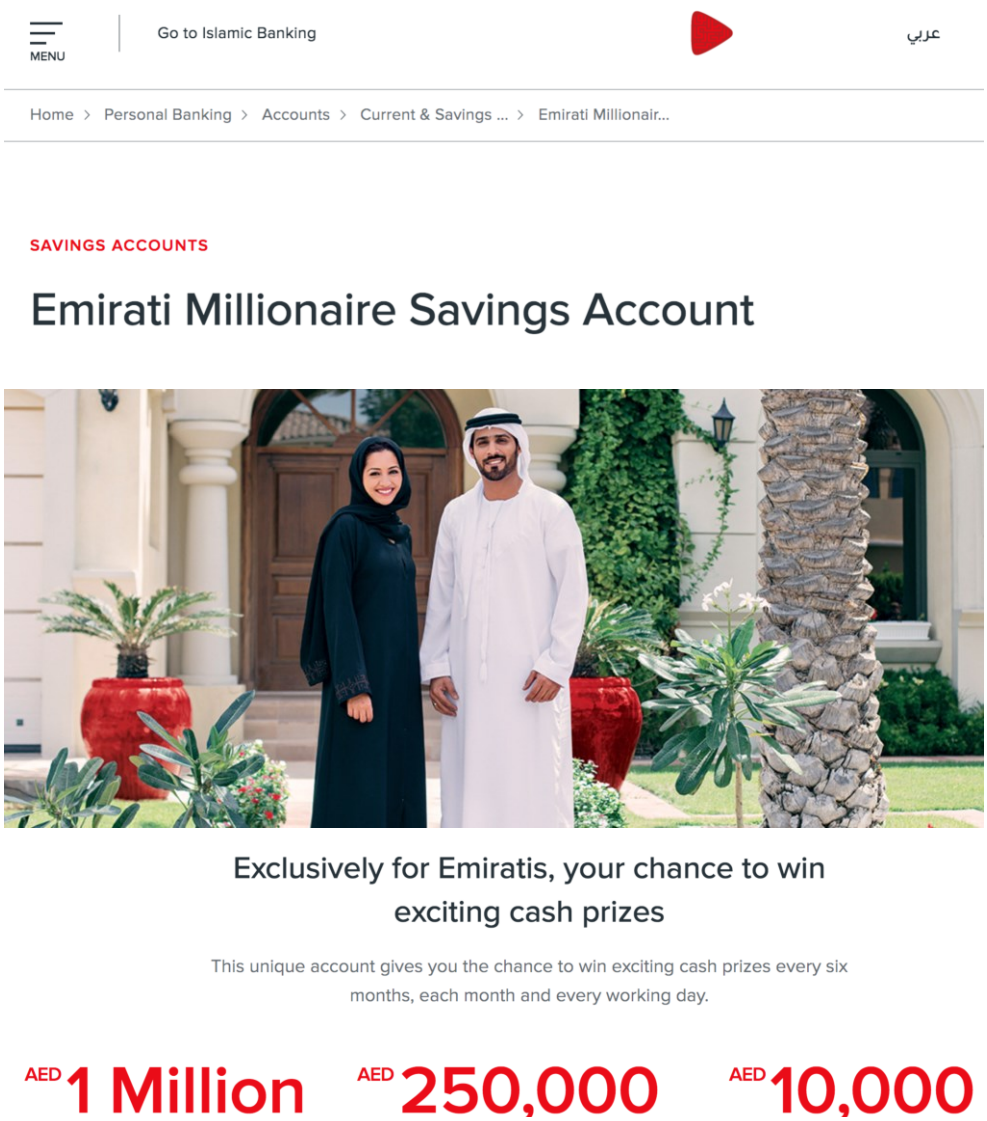


Figure 26. Advertisement: Abu Dhabi Commercial Bank (ADCB, 2019)

The need to evidence status through material possessions is strongly elucidated in the data

> …this is where you see the difference now … before people went to the Old *Souq* and now we can see people are more familiar with brands and they are going to say which is better and worse and I don't think this is good …sometimes people are judging because of what you are wearing, what you have… people are thinking about the type of your handbag, what car you are driving… it's more with cars for that is something that I notice a lot …
>
> Mouza/Maitha Amalgamated Data June 2016/7

Arthur *et al.* (2019) describe the social pressures felt by Emiratis in terms of status competition, an increasingly judgemental and narcissistic society and the desire to project an "appropriate" standard of wealth. Accruement of pride in their Emirati identity materialises in the presentation of material wealth and consumption on social media and in their daily lives. For some Emiratis the material markers of status foster affective responses of the desire to demonstrate belonging and success which manifest through inclusion/acceptance or exclusion/rejection. In this context, which Mouza alludes to, a severe consequence of excessive materialism is financial bondage through the (over)-spending of wealth. In 2012, the government-backed Debt Settlement Fund was opened to assist the 250,000 UAE citizens in debt at that time (quarter of the UAE population) (Arab_News_Digest, 2012) and yet the problem still remains an issue in 2019 (Bloomberg, 2019). Extending Al-Qasimi's (2020)concept of the indebted subject, whereby Emiratis are expected to generate a productive return to the nation-state, the cycle of monetary debt further produces subjectivities of indebtedness. Contradicting the responsibilisation promoted in *Vision2021*, the Debt Settlement Program and other debt forgiveness programs for Emiratis, draw citizens further into a vortex of indebtedness. Effectively rescuing citizens from financial disaster by drawing on available oil-rents, those who benefit from this program, are fixed into a never-ending cycle of gratitude to the nation-state.

> if I have a like a good car and I can move from home to work, that's all…that's good, I don't have to take like Mercedes… for me, I'm not a fan of fake items because it tells me that it is a way to fit in and to show people that you have money even though you might not afford it.
>
> Mouza/Maitha Amalgamated Data June 2016/7

Rejecting overt materialism and the imposition of external judgement Mouza and Maitha are defiant in the face of peer pressure. Their words interrupt the pedagogical forces of consumerism to fashion a journey that refuses to comply with the unsustainable accumulation of material possessions. They replace notions of debt and indebtedness with those of responsibilisation and autonomy. Certainly, Mouza and Maitha demonstrate their resistance to the flows of power engendered in the apparatus of status and debt. Whether this is rhizomatic or not, is debatable. Or is it a tracing that reproduces the productive neoliberal citizen – one of the embedded subjectivities in *Vision2021?* On their own, these small acts of transgression from the norm cannot constitute lines of flight but arguably that here, seeds are being sown that will not constitute roots and branches.

4.4.2 Regulation of the Gendered Self

In this section I attend here to what it means to experience Dubai spatially as a woman. Regulation of the self continues to be an imperative in Emirati women's lives. Nevertheless, this gendered experience reflects presciently changing modes of behaviour and attitudes towards women. I acknowledge here, that the male perspective is only perceived through the prism of Emirati women. Using the concept of the lived body I investigate Emirati women students' affective and behavioural responses to their experiences of everyday life as it relates to *Being Emirati*. Evidence emerges of multiplicitous, contradictory and heteronomous subjectivities that navigate the terrain between reality and ideology (de Lauretis, 1987). As Young (2002) expresses, the body-in-situation is a body of action and freedom; and the data is reflective of this. Conceptualising the body as a space and bodies in a space, the spatial/temporal interplay in this section renders embodied meaning-making visible.

4.4.2.1 Objects of/Objecting to the Gaze

> Yes, err once, I was a new driver and I was in only in Dubai and one person, I don't know who was that, they called my mother and they said why do you let your daughter drive to RAK when she is a new driver? How are you letting her go alone? And my mother was very angry… how you go to RAK without my permission and you are a new driver? So, it caused a lot of trouble with the eyes
>
> Alyazia June 2017

Oasha: I remember when I was training in the MRI section and his friend came and he saw my card, my ID card and he read my name and immediately called my brother and he said, you know your sister is in the MRI what is she doing there?

Hind: She was in the hospital, I was in the road, I had a project, I was taking a photograph of a petrol station, a car stopped in the road and put his window down and said you are the sister of Hamed, you have the same face and immediately he called my brother and said you know I saw your sister in the road and she was taking a photo, and he said, leave her alone, what business do you have telling me? What do you want? Let her be…Why are you tracking my family?

Oasha and Hind Paired Interview June 2016

In common Arabic parlance, the phrase these women use for "the gaze" is "the eyes". The eyes are pervasive in Emirati women's everyday lives requiring them to monitor and modify their behaviour. Speaking of their frustration, exasperation and indignation, this scrutiny was deeply resented, and considered to represent double-standards for the male members of their family do not have to tolerate such scrutiny. As the extracts show, families react and respond in different ways; each situation described to me is contingent on a particular and unique set of familial circumstances and attitudes ranging from the harsh to the lenient. In terms of thinking about their mobility, individual circumstances differed, but all bar one of the participants were drivers and had considerable autonomy in relation to their mobility. Table 3. shows little correlation in this group to marital status and permissions. In this section then, I take individual cases and build up a picture of the different ways in which Emirati female students negotiate the city's spaces in light of the omnipresent gaze. The instances I consider can be categorised in one of two ways – either as reactions/responses to the gaze, or, whenever possible, escaping from the line of sight.

				Parental/Fraternal/Spousal Permissions	
Participant *(arranged by age, oldest first)*	**Marital Status**	**Driving Licence**	**Car**	**Mandatory**	**Discretionary**
Hind	Married	✓	✓	✖	✓
Maitha	Single	✓	✓	✖	✖
Reem	Divorcing	✓	✓	✖	✖
Alyazia	Engaged	✓	✓	✖	✖
Maryam	Single	✓	✓ Shared with younger brother	✖	✖
Zainab	Single	✖	✖	✓	✖
Shamma	Single	✓	✓	✓	✖
Anood	Single	✓	✓	✖	✓
Oasha	Single	✓	✓	✓	✖
Mouza	Single	✓	✖ Access to car and driver	?	?

Table 3. Participants' Mobility and Regimes of Permissions

4.4.2.2 Responding/Reacting to the Gaze

Thinking responses and reactions through a poststructural perspective, it becomes clear that Emirati female students are actively participating and generating new forms of their selves and finding ways to negotiate a multiplicity of subject positions. Reactions and responses to the gaze reflect the elasticity of power relations. As power relations transform over/through time and space, the instances below evidence the shifting nature of control and authority. Significantly though, the limits of freedom for Emirati female students appear to be mostly expanding, temporally and spatially, rather than contracting.

4.4.2.2.1 Hind: Negotiating the Gaze

Hind's current relationship with her husband and family regarding personal movement is illustrated here

Hind: … my mother and father are the most important things in my life… till now, I am married since 2010… until now I don't do any single thing without their permission

Me: Oh really

Hind: Yeah…(laughs)

Me: What does your husband think about that?

Hind: He likes it because he's not 24 hours in Dubai…his work is in…Abu Dhabi… sometimes he gets like three weeks in Abu Dhabi so we don't see him… So still I'm a daughter I don't feel I'm wife

Hind May 2016

This arrangement suits Hind. Traditionally, as a married woman, in Emirati culture, permissions regarding movement would transfer from the parents to the husband. In Hind's case, she continues to play the role of daughter, requesting permissions where necessary. In so doing, she maintains the trust and respect of her parents, but at the same time, as a married woman, she is not their responsibility. Hind is able to take advantage of this in-between position, a kind of overcompensation – she knows her parents will never refuse a request. As Hind says, this also suits her husband. Findlow (2013) has argued that this type of gentle negotiation and resistance is commonplace across the Arab Gulf and that as women move into the public sphere – without detriment to their families – relations of power and agency shift in women's favour. She, and other scholars are careful to add that these modifications to relational power are generally contingent on the consent of male family members (Samier, 2015).

*****

Hind: Even in my family and the changing of generation, when I started to work I told my parents I don't want to work in Dubai, I want to work in AD … they said, they'll never accept it, but now my sister she is working there, she drives there every day and has her own accommodation

Me: That's a big change. Can you see a timeframe for the change…when it happened?

Hind: I think that in the last seven years it changed, it's a big change for us

Hind reflection on the changing attitudes to women's mobility is further evidence of Findlow's assertion. Following years of strategic government promotion of women's participation in the labour market (Rutledge, 2011), these policies came to fruition between 2008-2016 when significant numbers of Emirati women students graduated from HCT and Zayed University in Dubai and moved into employment (GBC, 2020). Contemporaneously, three further factors coalesced to make resistance to women's mobility significantly more difficult: 24/7 connection available through smart phones; the expansion of Dubai's urban area which necessitated Emirati women students to drive; and the provision of multiple securitised public spaces such as malls. The gradual changes over this period of time, have come to be accepted as the new normalised way of living and being.

Interestingly though, the only time when Hind doesn't tell her parents, because she knows they would forbid her, is if she wants to travel abroad with girlfriends. On such occasions there is no negotiation; she just goes.

4.4.2.2.2 Oasha: Controlled by the Gaze

> Although I am a driver, still my brother, Jassim is strict with me…my father he was very free with us, he spoiled us and now my brother has taken over, has taken responsibility, he is very strict…I asked him why he was more strict and he told me now your father is dead, all people will open their eyes on you and so if you go somewhere without permission they will talk about you and I don't like anyone to talk about you because you are part of me…
>
> Oasha May 2016

Reading through Oasha's transcripts it seemed as if she was speaking from an earlier decade. Her voice was a constant reminder of the (still on-going) transformations in Emirati women students' lives. Throughout our interviews, she refers to her brothers, particularly her older brother, Jassim. She defers to his opinions, his responsibilities, his driving skills and his worldliness, at once in awe and frustrated by him. Oasha's story stands apart from the other participants in the amount of control that Jassim has over her life, exacerbated by the fact that her mother is Indian, and that her late father's Omani origins mean it is unlikely that they have broad ancestral ties in the UAE. Jassim, as the eldest male in the family, has assumed responsibility for Oasha

and her twin sister, Lamya until they are married, a position supported by the wider family. Jassim's rationale is that people will talk. His actions are a direct result of his fear of gossip and judgement. He is afraid for the family, but is also doing what he sees best for Oasha, for her protection and best interests going forward. His belief remains that family honour is held in the behaviour and conduct of unmarried women. Consequently, he constrains Oasha's mobility. His fears contrast with his father's actions, who had allowed the women in his family, greater independence and autonomy. For Oasha's father, this was the easier and more pragmatic option. Her father had at least two other wives and families. It would not have been possible to limit or constrain his daughter's movements when he was frequently not in their house – he was also ambitious for his daughters to gain an education and make something of themselves in the world. With a shift of responsibility to Oasha's elder brother, a new set of relations is created. Under new conditions of responsibility, the spatial freedoms and mobility for Oasha are reversed, with educative and career ambitions for Oasha being a minor concern after family/personal reputation and Oasha's marriage. Spatial mobility thus, can contract as well as expand. Oasha's former mobility and lack of constraint were, only a provisional achievement (Massey, 2005).

4.4.2.2.3 Ignoring the Gaze

For Maryam restrictions were not an issue; she flies under the radar, with no one really knowing where she is. Her mother, as an independent career woman doesn't set limits, and she often stays with her brother thus occupying an in-between space that she negotiates to good effect, moving at will in and around the city. I reassert the imperative of avoiding generalisations amongst this group of women. Maitha's annoyance at my line of questioning illustrates this

Maitha	You know we are all adults, I'm the youngest, I'm 30 years old, and the others are older than me
Me:	Your brothers they never say anything
Maitha	Ah, but I never come late…like till 10.00pm otherwise they will call me, where are you? In case something bad has happened

Nevertheless, just as most Dubai residents practice self-censorship, Emirati women practice differing levels of self-surveillance to ensure they stay within the boundaries of cultural acceptability as defined by individual circumstances that differentiate across families.

4.4.2.3 Fleeing the Gaze

The alternative to responding or reacting to the gaze is to escape from it. Patterns and technologies of mobility and mobile communication have made this possible for Emirati women students. Reichenbach (2015b) has written extensively on the ways in which Emirati women's spatial practices in the city of Dubai make and re-make spaces of Emiratiness as well as how they utilise spaces that are generally occupied by wealthier sections of the expatriate communities such as upmarket malls and shopping centres in gated communities. My participants are no different, Reem in particular uses coffee shops in The Greens, a luxury, secure development as a solace from the eyes of the Emirati community. Unlike some interviewees in Reichenbach's paper, Reem doesn't feel out of place, rather she is able just to be, which is what she seeks as she goes through a traumatic divorce. Hind also describes where she can just be

> I go with girlfriends from outside of work… we have our own desert area. At the weekend in winter we are going to our own private place in the desert and no one can enter that area. I don't even like to take my husband over there… I like to have my free life there… he allows me because I showed him the area … and he's not afraid of anything and I even take my son with me when we going there. We spend all the day there and sometimes we sleep over
>
> Hind June 2016

Emirati women students, to enable a sense of self to emerge, need to remove themselves from the gaze to create spaces of their own. Alzeer and Amin (2020) have evidenced this yearning for individual spaces in Emirati women students through creative writing and spaces of the imagination. My findings take this idea in the physical realm. Hind and her friends are creating physical spaces of respite, where, using strength in numbers, they retreat to spaces which are secured from external eyes, and which turn inwards. Rather than being the objects of exclusion, Hind and her friends create spaces of inclusion and freedom for themselves, deliberately excluding judgement and gossip and making

notions of status and reputation irrelevant. Hind additionally states a preference to spend her weekends outside of Dubai, with friends in Fujairah or Ras Al Khaimah. She notes there are fewer eyes. This reminds me of Reichenbach's (2015a) reporting, from her Dubai Emirati informants, of certain malls in Dubai being filled with Emirati women from Abu Dhabi, at the weekends. The impression given by her interviewees is that these women are of questionable repute. I wonder if this is not the case, but just that these women from Abu Dhabi are escaping the gaze in their hometown. Perhaps, like Hind, they are trying to flee the eyes and create spaces of their own in a city far from their own. An example of this is Zainab's recount

> one time we went to Kuwait…without my father and my brothers...only three sisters and one friend of my sister and when we came back to Dubai, my brother fought with us…because they don't allow for the girls go out, like to travel… [but] it was a good trip and we had fun… because we were all girls together…
>
> Zainab June 2016

A group of Emirati women travelled abroad to be themselves for the weekend. This action, which to us in the UK seems so normal and innocent, is a big deal for Emirati women. It is a brave action that disregards their own family rules but by doing so, and ensuring strength in numbers they are beginning to change attitudes and perceptions around Emirati women's mobility. These actions remind us of both the affective thrills of charting new geographies described by early women educators but also the technologies of the self and of space which allows an opportunity for women to experiment with alternative ways of living (Tamboukou, 1999). Ironically here, I see a return to interregionality where, in order to escape prying eyes and wagging tongues, Emirati women and other Arab Gulf women use the new urban cityscapes outside of their homeland or emirate to create spaces where they can just be. As such, they shape the urban landscape across the Arab Gulf not just in their hometowns, testing and expanding the boundaries and limits of their own spatial mobility.

4.5 Lines of Flight: Past, Present and Future Imaginings

The spatial as a prompt illuminated participants' attitudes towards urban and social transformation. It often seemed the past, as expressed in heritage discourse was both far away and close. Recalling Bristol-Rhys' (2009) notion of an experiential fissure, there was the sense of a split, a before and after. Indeed, memories and attitudes towards the spatial landscapes of the 1970-1990s were almost derogatory, as if a void existed between the imagined fantasy of the Bedouin past and the spectacular urban iconic landscapes of the 2000s.

> it's called Bastakiya – you know when I go there I am interested in the old people and the spices and I love to know the things like, that have disappeared, the things that how they were living, this is Deira, I don't like it, the traffic, the same emotions…but here, I love to see the towers
>
> Reem June 2017

However, more than the feeling of loss was an understated acceptance of ambivalence. I argue that this ambivalence is central in Emirati women's subjectivities. Loss is mitigated by gain. There are undoubtedly elements of the past that Emirati women articulate longing for but they are acutely aware of the gains that women have made, or been granted over the past decades. Whilst there is some nostalgia for elements of the past as Alyazia evokes

> I used to sit with my grandmother and talk about the times before, you know I hate these days, these generation and this very new life, I wish I was in the old days

another part of her, on another occasion is quite clear

> everything else it is fine. We have a modern life in Jumeirah and Khawaneej is quiet and peaceful.

Or here Reem's musings

> the buildings from the outside - they are more - something that's pulling you…. attractive but from the inside not so much…here's Naif… and when you show them the picture of this one and the Marina and *this one you can see how far we have come from the past…. it's really lovely…*
>
> Reem Interview June 2017(my emphasis)

Using Pink's (2011) conception of emplacement, participant's utterances are witness to the unfolding, processual nature of subjectivities. I see this not as a dualistic split of traditional Alyazia/Reem vying with modern Alyazia/Reem but evidencing how aspects of the past, present and future imaginings are fused together and inscribed in/on/as understandings of what Emiratiness means to each individual. The words evidence the entanglement of historical processes, the place-events as felt in urban spatial transformation accessed through visual images of cityscapes in varying temporal aspects and how these are inscribed affectively in and through the body.

Sensing ambivalence, fragility and precarity, my findings bring an extra layer to our understandings of precarity. For Al-Qasimi (2020) precarity is solely predicated on cultural threat, a demographic imbalance and the resultant need for preservation, regeneration and procreation. However, I believe her own position of privilege (that she herself acknowledges) prevents her from sensing the lived experiences of everyday precarities in ordinary Emirati women student's lives. As a woman, is a constant need to justify and account for oneself and a constant fear of the consequences of transgression. In my interviews I came across examples of Al-Qasimi's revolutionary desire and the breaking of heteronormative and heteropatriarchal codes – active female sexuality outside marriage and marriages that break ancestral kinship ties and transgress citizenship boundaries – but these transgressions were not my participants' stories. My participants were cautious, telling subtler stories of transgression, looking to a future of a less omnipresent gaze and where individual life choices would be accepted. Thus, in Hind and Zainab's discovery and creation of new spaces of female friendship and freedom, in Mouza and Maryam's refusal to engage with the heritage narrative, in Maitha's rejection of consumerism, in the simmering resentment over municipal land grabs and in the managed negotiation of consent to play in the in-between spaces, tentative lines of flight are emerging. A public pedagogy approach has furthered our interpretations of Emirati women student's lived experiences and exposed aspects of their lives that would otherwise be unaccounted for and a deeper and more nuanced appreciation of their lives can be discerned, that complicates the binary dualistic label of modern-traditional ideal Emirati women. I take the position, evidenced by the data, that certain of these lines of flight may well falter, but that others will strengthen and soar.

5 Inhabiting

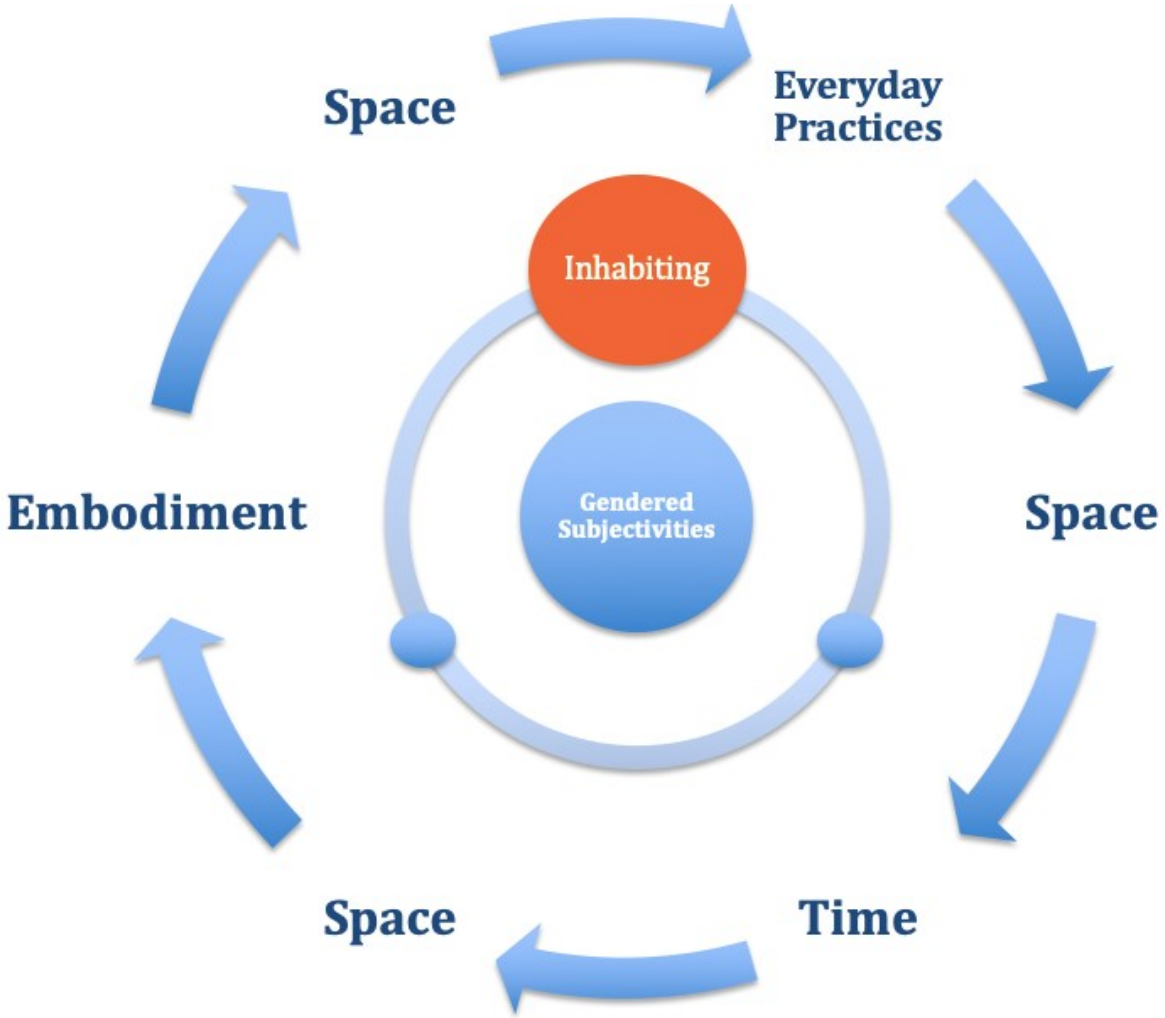


Figure 27. Analytical Guide: Chapter Focus - *Inhabiting*

Inhabiting extends the range of analysis beyond Emirati community relations to include those outside of this politically-defined boundary. Understanding *Inhabiting* as the on-going activity of living or dwelling within a space/place, I consider the practices, attitudes and behaviours of Emirati women students' in the multicultural world of the Dubai to paint a picture of how they conceive of themselves and others within Dubai. As a worlding city, Dubai is a globally-reaching spectacular display of

architecture and branded of spaces (Haines, 2011). On the ground, though it is a fragmentary collection of spaces of privilege and marginalisation (Daher, 2013).

> … in my opinion I like it [living with different nationalities]…I feel bored if everyone is the same, if they are all like me, all talk like me, all wear the same…so for me I enjoy it …I'm exposed to different cultures…I know how they talk, I feel like if Dubai wasn't like this, if it didn't contain all these different nationalities, then maybe I would not know about other cultures like now…so for me I enjoy it… And maybe I would like it in another way…if I apply for a job, if they know I am local, it's better for me, and maybe I would get more attention
>
> Anood Interview May 2016

Affective and effective strategies of inclusion and exclusion permeate the data in this chapter. Led by the data, and therefore building a partial picture, continuing threads of privilege and precarity are woven through the participant texts. Dominating the data are the mobilising actions of affect in producing and constructing subjectivities through the presence of lived bodies. I argue that it is through the corporeality of the Other that subjectivities emerge to sustain and reproduce the Emirati subject.

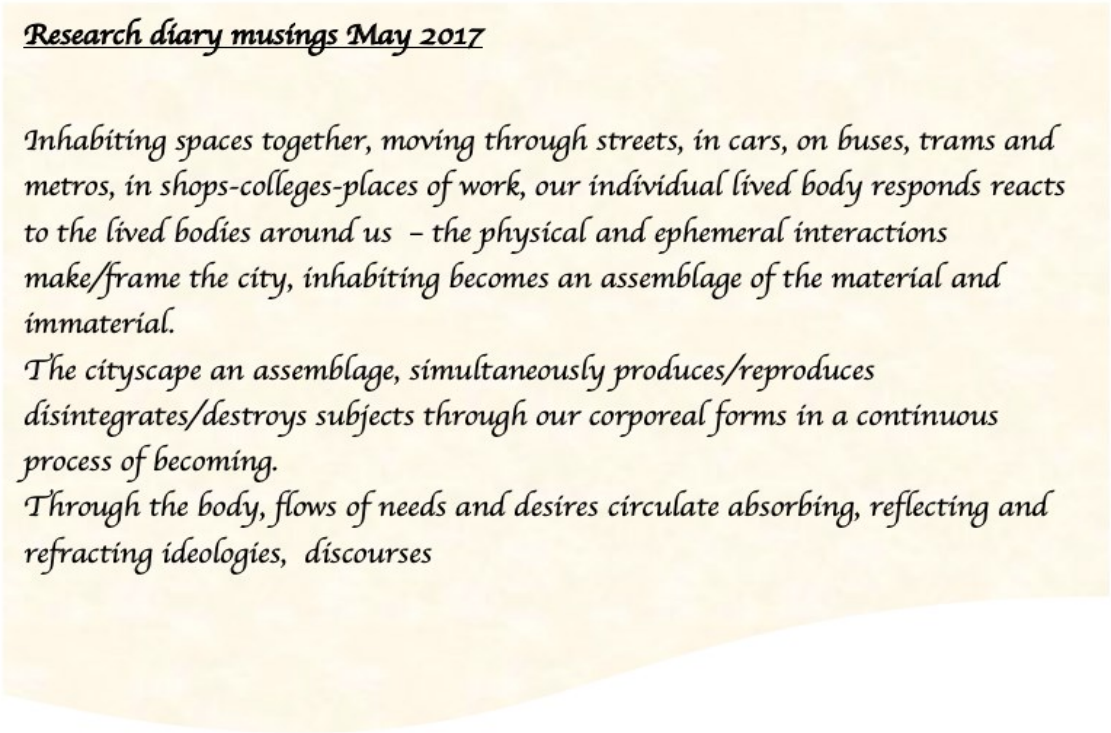


Figure 28.Research Diary Entry, May 2017

5.1 Precarious Subjects

One of the most noticeable things about Dubai when a first time visitor arrives in the city is the absence or invisibility of the indigenous population (Krane, 2010) – an eventuality that Reem also remarked on

> when some friends they came from outside, they asked me, where are the locals, we cannot see them, because all they are Indians and everything else…
>
> Reem Interview June 2017

Here, Reem categorises the population of Dubai into two neat categories: *locals,* that is, Emiratis, and *Indians and everything else,* a classification typical of Emirati female students who often use the word "foreigners" as a catch-all (Reichenbach, 2015a). That their city is largely made up of cultural others is assumed to be an inexorable aspect of modernisation and development. The demographic imbalance is normalised to the extent, that it goes unnoticed, undocumented and unspoken.

Me:	… here in Dubai about 90% are expatriates and 10% are locals … It's so different to the UK …do you ever think about it, or is it just normal?
Shamma:	No…no I don't think about it
Me:	So, you just become very used to living with all these different …
Shamma:	Maybe because I was in private school I was with different kinds of people…I feel it's just normal

Shamma: Paired Interview May 2017

Journey map and photo elicitation sessions confirmed that my interlocutors traverse the cityscape by car, eschewing public transport which is considered to be a lower status means of navigating the city, which would leave them open to community critique (Reichenbach, 2015a). Journey maps indicate the patterns of daily life take place between nodes of Emiratiness, such as college, workplaces, home and local neighbourhoods (Figure 29.). Participants evidence minimal time physically spent in places that exude a sense of multiculturality which speaks to the accomplishment of spatial segregation as a strategy to shield Emiratis from the starkness of Dubai's demographic imbalance.

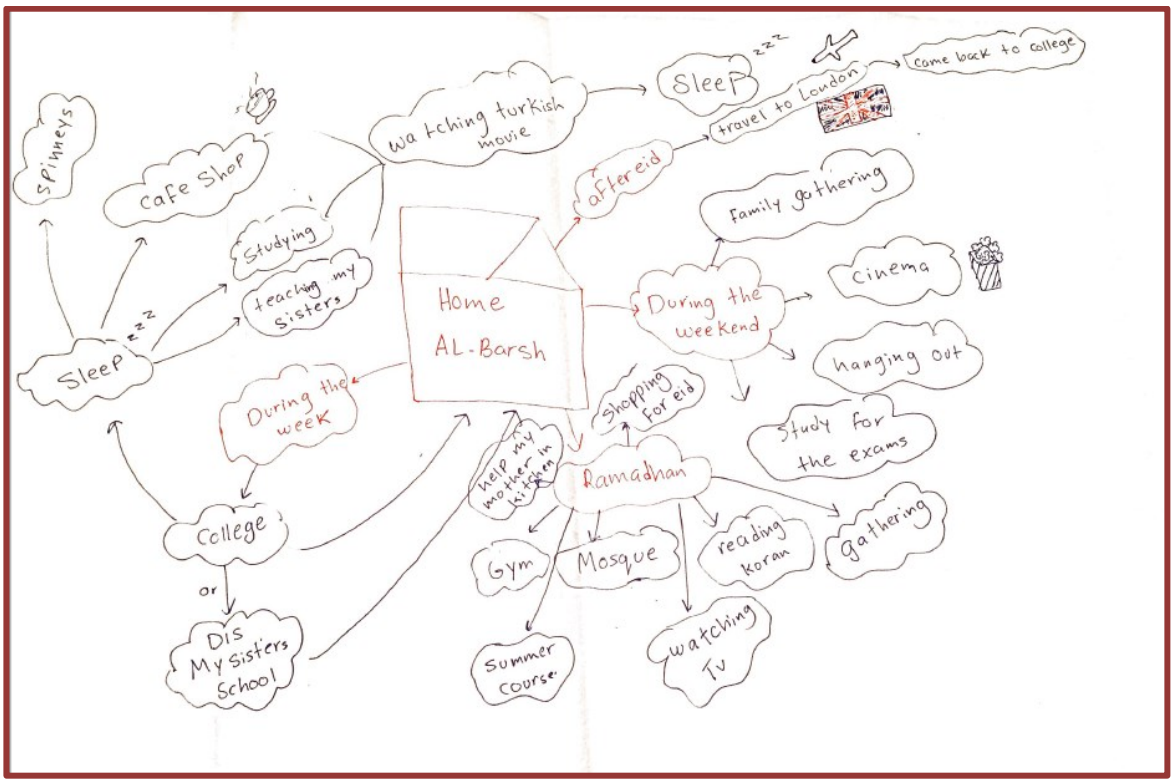


Figure 29. Journey Map -Shamma

Of time spent in "multi-cultural" spaces, Dubai's roads made up a significant proportion. Oasha, Maryam and Reem all comment variously on the increased traffic on the roads, attributing this to shifts in the demographics of Dubai and the resultant busyness of the city. They resent the congestion caused by the large number of foreigners on the streets. Similarly, Zainab and Maryam imply that Emiratis are being excluded from employment by the influx of expatriates. However, these overt examples of stereotyping dissolve when pressed further and responses become more nuanced and thoughtful

Me:	…in my country there are mostly English people, but here, it's the other way around. How does that feel?
Maryam:	Sometimes I feel like they are stealing something…I don't want to say this…
Me:	It's ok
Maryam:	I feel it's not normal…
Me:	It's not normal?
Maryam:	It has become normal …*yanni* the number of the…err… residents?

Me: Expatriates,

Maryam: it has become more than the locals, so it's not normal…so I wish if the locals were more, and I wish if it was not like this

Maryam Interview June 2017

There is limited acknowledgement or comprehension that the demographics are the result of political or economic decisions which could have resulted in expressions of anger. Rather affective embodied responses combined resentment and sadness with a tinge of despair – a melancholic response (Walkerdine, 2010) that surfaced the political in circuitous ways

> You know we are just few, we are like the dinosaurs, you know some day we are going to (laughs). It's not good, it's bad, you know, you want to see your people, that makes you feel that you belong to this country, more than if you see other people you feel it's there for them, not for you…
>
> Reem Interview June 2017

> it's like the Indians [indigenous Americans] who are in America…
>
> Hind Interview June 2016

In a telling extract, Hind had contested discourses of the demographics until it was pointed out to her

> I don't like to think that we are rare in our country …one day, me and my sisters went to Jumeirah Wild Wadi, it was ladies night, when it happened it was like someone slapping me… one lady she came, she was Saudi, and she asked something, when I replied, she asked me, you are locals, you are UAE nationals…I replied yes, she said, "now I am completing my first week in Dubai and you are the first UAE nationals I am talking to…I feel like I am travelling abroad, I am not in the GCC, and I am not sure if you are a local" she said it like this, and I said to my sister, I will kill her for talking like this….and my sister said , compare Dubai and Saudi and you will know why she is talking like this….and then I know that this what read in the newspapers, it is right, we are the minority, we are not the majority…
>
> Hind Paired Interview June 2016

Hind's response is an intense entanglement of emotion and affect, socially-consequential and enmeshed with social relations (Wetherell, 2012). To quote Ahmed

> to be affected by something, such that we move toward or away from that thing is an orientation toward something. It is in the intensity of bodily responses to worlds that we make judgements about worlds; and those judgments are directive even if they do not follow narrative rules of sequence, or cause and effect. These judgements do not lead to actions; they are actions (Ahmed, 2004, p.209)

Hind's response to the Saudi woman (Appendix 12) results in an orientation, an affective reaction that defies chronological emergence. It is an action that reveals much about the interrelationality between Emiratis and their own nation-state as well as between Emiratis and cultural others. Within a matter of seconds or minutes she moves from internal feelings of violation/insult/disparagement (of both herself and her nation) that are expressed as anger towards the Saudi woman, who, simultaneously is classed as a person of lesser status by dint of her nationality. Just as quickly, her sister appeases her, with her own classed comparison of Saudi/Dubai society and makes visible a truth that Hind has denied resulting in an anxious and fearful understanding of the vulnerability of Emiratiness. The result is an orientation or perception of weakness and impending threat from the other that engenders fear/anxiety whilst also disempowering. The way out of this feeling is to demand/require protection from the nation-state. Hind's vignette encapsulates a keystone of the relation between the Emirati state and Emirati citizen that has become an internalised regime of practice, a normalised belief.

This aspect of precarity backgrounds the remainder of this chapter infusing everyday life in many ways. I use understandings drawn from the study of the everyday and the mundane to assist in my analysis of the ways these normalised regimes of practice have come about, to render the familiar strange and the ordinary extraordinary (Robinson, 2015). The analysis begins in the domestic environment and then sifts through the data to find evidence of convivial multiculturality. Finding these interactions to be limited, I move to show how a cultural politics of emotions is operationalized to maintain the space between the Emirati and the noncitizen other.

5.2 Domestic Life

5.2.1 The Home: The Nation's Microcosm

> When I was thinking about this at the beginning I was not clear – which relationship there is between Emiratis and expats and then I started to think the first thing that I have to think about is the housemaids, because they live with us, they come from different nationalities and backgrounds and perspectives and so we will face different challenges… we have daily contact with them, and all Emiratis or most of them have housemaids so we are dealing with other nationalities more than we are thinking, in our houses, not only in our country
>
> Anood Interview May 2016

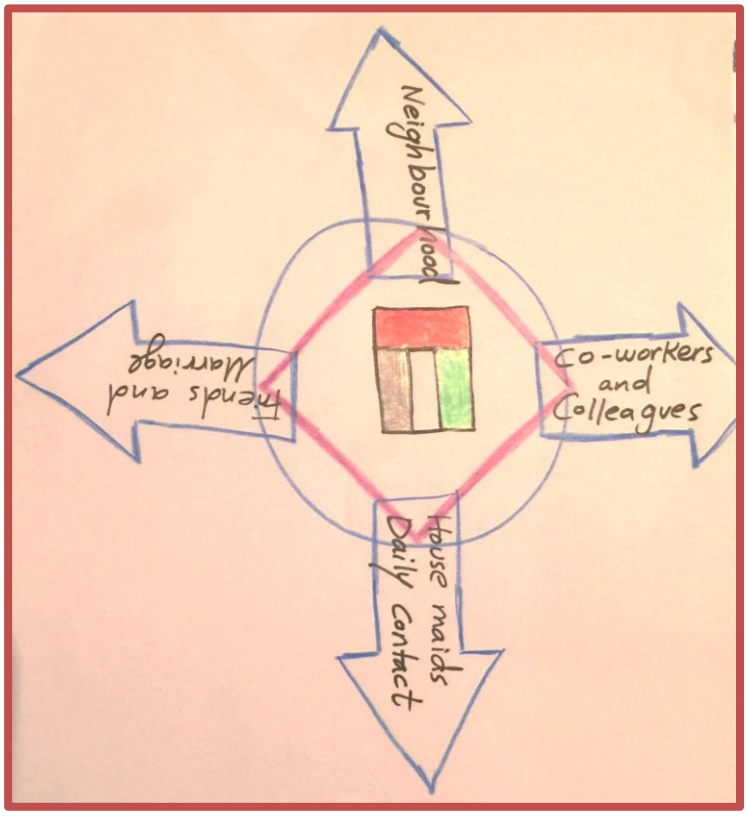


Figure 30. Relationship between Emiratis and Expatriates - Anood

Through her personal research investigation (Figure 30), Anood's depiction of the interrelationship of Emiratis and expatriates surprises herself. She notices an intimate, intercultural relationship that has become normalised in the everyday lives of Emiratis, another taken-for-granted outcome in the historical development of the modern nation-state. It is useful to depict households as a microcosm of the nation-

state; they replicate the biopolitics critical to the disciplining of individual bodies and the regulatory control of populations at the heart of modern governance in the GCC states (Ahmad, 2017). Households generally, are, the sites of biological reproduction of the citizenry, families are raised and inculcated with morals and values and workers/citizens are cared for, nourished and sheltered. Within, GCC households, familial and tribal networks are integrated into the nation-state as constituents of socio-political belonging and organisation, through assorted welfare state policies such as education, healthcare, housing and reproductive needs that work in and through the household (ibid.). In the UAE, female domestic workers from diverse regions, East Asia (Indonesia, the Philippines), the Asian sub-continent (India & Sri Lanka) and East Africa (Ethiopia and Uganda) migrate to work in Emirati households taking up roles that mimic the broader social and spatial structures of country. Until she drew her relationship map, Anood remained unaware of this, so deeply engrained are these relationships into Emirati everyday life.

Spatial hierarchies and bodily regulation of domestic workers mirror the systemic patterns found across GCC states. Domestic workers are subject to the same visa regimes as all expatriate workers in the UAE, the *Kafala* system that comprises the *Kafeel,* or sponsor who is an Emirati or an employing company/institution and the *Makfool*, the sponsored individual (Alsayer, 2019). An unequal balance of power is instigated from the outset, in the case of domestic workers, as the *kafeel,* usually an adult male Emirati household member, has the right to revoke sponsorship at any time. Accompanying the precarious *kafala* relationship are strict social and spatial limitations on movement and behaviours. The power imbalance however, does not begin in the UAE but is imbricated in transnational labour flows. Alsayer (2019) shows how simulated training environments prepare Filipina domestic workers for employment in GCC states where trainees are given strategies to cope with the objectification, commodification and dehumanization they will undergo; they are 'taught to submit, to be subordinate and to adhere to social and spatial expectations that...limit…their "right to the city" and to space" (Alsayer, 2019, p.292). A requirement of migrant domestic workers, thus is to self-identify as the lesser other. The frequent requirement to wear a uniform further underscores the lower status of the domestic worker by signifying her servility and depriving her of the autonomy of

choice (ibid.). Residential architecture of Emirati homes mirrors the built environment of the city, in that domestic workers are segregated during non-working hours from the family to the fringes of domestic space, a maid's block or a room on the roof. This segregation reinforces the modes of social contact between Emiratis and noncitizens but is also emblematic of the value assigned to different groups of people – in the allocation of large tracts of space to Emiratis within the household and the exclusion of domestic workers to the margins (ibid.), spatial hierarchies of regulation and regimentation, imposed via citizenship rights, extend from the household to the whole of the city.

Anood's statement shows how she has learnt about noncitizen others from birth through to young adulthood. She has been party to everyday racialisation embedded through the spatial hierarchies of the home. Anood is used to having a large amount of space for herself and family whilst it is normal for noncitizen domestic workers have limited private space. She is used to having someone to do the menial/mundane chores of domestic labour. Anood partakes in the socially imbalanced relation of power on a daily basis. This is not to mark out Anood – all the participants have grown up with this – but to typify the rootedness of otherness that dominates this urban context. However, the complexities of household relations are emphasised by Ahmad as sites of 'intimacy, labouring, affect, economic exchange and asymmetrical gendered, aged, raced and kinship relations' (2017, p.128). As participants speak of their domestic helpers, I witnessed an amalgam, of kindness and gratitude but also condescension and anxiety. I explore these affective responses in the two subsequent sections.

5.2.2 The Reputation of the House

Me: Could you imagine life without a housemaid?
Anood: It would be difficult for us…because our houses are very big and we have a lot of rooms and if the mother is like she is housewife, it's ok,

Domestic helpers uphold the reputation of the household, both physically and morally. Research in this area has confirmed that Emiratis feel they require domestic

help to maintain social status and a high standard of living (Arthur *et al.*, 2019; Malit, Awad and Alexander, 2018). Furthermore, once a domestic worker is employed in the household, she becomes a de facto family member (Ahmad, 2017), an extended kinswoman whose in-between status can be used by Emirati women as chaperones to subvert the household's laws of permission and/or to maintain respectability in the public sphere. A longstanding practice (Nagy, 1998), this continues with current Emirati women students (Trainer, 2015; Reichenbach, 2015a). Reversing this, domestic helpers are required to uphold the moral values of the employers, demonstrating again the relational asymmetry in relations

> you know, every housemaid she brings different problems with her… she enters a guy to the house…A lot of things can happen, I don't know because we are treating them very freely, we are kind we are free, they can do whatever they want, my parents they will not tell them if they do anything wrong, but if they bring a guy in the middle of the night…in our house, it's our dignity…because I remember, we had a house maid and she came to us on the second day. And she said, if I get pregnant will I be in jail, if I have a boyfriend will I be in jail and this was the first thing she thinks about…and I asked her, did you come to work or get into a relationship and she left, because my mum said she couldn't have a boyfriend…
>
> Anood Interview June 2016

Responsibility for the sanctity of the house and the maintenance of reputation remains with women and so Anood and her mother deal with this situation. It is telling, that Anood feels their treatment of maids is fair, free and kind but an expectation of reciprocity is encoded in the adherence to Emirati moral values. Anood's main concern is the dignity of the family. Whilst she accepts other cultural lifestyles, the potential transgression of social mores and resultant reputational damage trumps in this particular situation, evidencing the power of community judgment and the deeply held religious beliefs that are used as the basis by which to pass judgement. Anood's comments reflect a complex assemblage of relations where power relations constantly unfurl and refold in/around patterns of subjectification and subjection. They demonstrate her relational conception of a housemaid's value as transactional, through a neo-liberal lens of labour. The housemaid's leaving constitutes an act of resistance against the normal modes of relational power in this instance. Anood considers that the

housemaid should have been grateful for the opportunity and resents her choice to leave, putting her own agenda and desires ahead of her commitment to the Emirati household. Illustrative of the co-dependency at play between Emiratis and their domestic helpers, there is reluctance to admit that they rely on domestic labour to maintain their social status and reputation but perhaps moreover a reluctance to admit that resistance to those power relations can occur.

5.2.3 Neoliberal Feminisms: Outsourcing Labour and Love

Maryam exemplifies the bonds of attachment that were created between herself and her nanny when her own mother went out to work.

> Me: Were you brought up with a nanny?
> Maryam: Yes…she was with us for long…when she travelled I cried...I don't want my mother, I don't want my father, just her…
> Me: Why did she go?
> Maryam: To married and also, we do for her a small party in our house
> Me: Where was she from?
> Maryam: Philippines…she was with us for twelve years and She sends her picture till now…when she travelled my personality changed….
>
> Maryam Interview June 2017

Maryam suffered when her nanny returned to her home country but the link between Maryam and her carer persists to this day, over space and time in the form of virtual communication. How this changed Maryam's personality is unclear, but I know from experience, that my daughters cannot speak to our Ethiopian nanny (who was with us for 10 years) without crying. The caring bond established in their early childhood is strong – they miss her and grieve for her. Whilst Maryam admits that her mother spent too much time away from home (see Chapter 6), she concurs at the same time *so what should she do? Stay in the home? No…she should work…but it was bad when I was small…* This speaks to the difficulties facing working women the world over and reflects the competing/conflicting subjectivities of contemporary Emirati women where individual aspirations rub against conceptions of traditional roles of mother and housewife.

Me: Could you imagine life without a housemaid?

Anood: …but if [the mother's] working then it's very difficult having big rooms to clean and do the laundry and everything and it will be difficult, it's not impossible and you know some families they do it and their house is clean and they are happy so…I think maybe I will do the same in the future

As such and using Anood's conversation to exemplify my findings, I refute the notion of an unproductive family (Sabban, 2014) in which domestic help allows Emirati women to live a life of leisure. Rather, domestic help works as an enabler to allow Emirati women to materialise their ambitions and desires, whether these be in employment or education, by shouldering the burden of domestic labour which also, helps secure their social standing. Indeed, it has been suggested that domestic help in Dubai is essential for working women in the UAE (Malit, Awad and Alexander, 2018), inevitable perhaps as the opening of public and private spaces for Emirati women continues unabated in terms of education and employment (Alsayer, 2019). This is unsurprising, as structural support to assist with women's life paths has not kept pace, for example, maternity leave consists of 90 days from the birth of a child (UAE_Government, 2020) and limited options for wrap-around childcare besides domestic help exist (for one positive example, see Dubai Customs (2020)). However, local media perpetuates the image of domestic worker as a threat by focussing on mental instability, cruelty, untrustworthiness and absconding as lack of gratitude hence waves of moral panic arise in the public sphere particularly around incidents of child abuse by a domestic worker (Agarib, 2016). Ignoring this, Hind and Reem, the two participants who rely upon domestic help stated their determined gratitude towards them as Hind explains

> she's like a second mother to my son…but the problem is …with my parents they will understand, but with my in-laws they will feel like "why she kept him with the nanny? Maybe the nanny feeds him the wrong food, maybe she changes his diaper the wrong way" … you know…
>
> Hind Interview June 2016

In spite of the strain and criticism emanating from in-laws, both Hind and Reem subsume the burden of pressure and continue to work/study regardless. Hind is supported by her husband to work and contribute to the family economy; in this sense

she becomes dependent upon her domestic worker. Reem's outcome is very different (see Chapter 6) – her desire to continue studying is made possible through the availability of domestic help but ultimately leads to divorce. The ubiquity of domestic help has both allowed Reem to follow her desires but at a significant emotional cost. This strange relationship of autonomy and dependence is evidence of an unusual type of affective co-dependent relationship between the Emirati and the noncitizen other.

5.3 Intercultural Conviviality

The reality of life in Dubai is the propensity of 'highly visible cultural and even racial differences' (Kanna and Hourani, 2016). Emiratis tend to work, study and live in enclaves of Emiratiness but in spaces of consumption they contact many other cultures and social classes. However, as Valentine (2008) points out, contact does not necessarily lead to understanding, acceptance, or the building of more intimate social relationships. Searching the data for evidence of intercultural conviviality I found few examples, but Anood and Oasha's interviews surfaced some instances worthy of analysis. These are documented here, again, indicative of the patterning of social and spatial relations across the city, and theorising out from the lack of encounter and the specific type of encounter they also help to envisage why and how meaningful interactions are precluded.

5.3.1 In the Community

Anood describes her neighbourhood

> … they moved now, they were German and next to us, he's local and his wife is English, and then here he is Irish and here he's Syrian…maybe two or three houses down they are local…and we have good relationships with them…we have barbecues and stuff…but only the mother I think she doesn't like us, she doesn't come, but maybe she don't like to contact…but the father and the children they come
>
> Anood Interview June 2016

Anood and her family's relationship with their neighbours is highly unusual, a product, I suspect, from the openness of her parents combined with a strong community streak that runs through her family – her grandmother does not allow mobile phones at family gatherings for example. Anood's description is interesting

because it outlines relationships on a level plane. A gathering where people come together to chat, to eat and to generally be neighbourly and friendly this kind of interaction has the capacity to build a sense of community and communality (Wise and Noble, 2016). It houses a sense of neighbourliness and rejects community judgement and interference. It brings people together.

Oasha describes a different type of community interaction

> we take our niece Salwa to Souqi… we spend an hour and a half in Souqi because of her, every day, 12.00 or 4.00, when she's staying in our house…actually we love to take her there, because she's shouting and making fun…and everyone in Souqi knows her and they give her free things…sometimes even ice-cream. As you can see the most of my daily life I go to Souqi and communicate with them, even if they are Indian and Filipino we make jokes and laugh with them and there is one who is at McDonalds he told me, he starts to call me teacher and I say, no, I'm the doctor she's the teacher!! And at the pharmacy, he gives the products at a cheaper price…. and they know us…like the guy who sells us donuts
>
> Oasha Interview June 2016

Oasha everyday encounters in her local shopping centre, Souqi, were an integral part of her daily routines (Figure 31.) and she notes how the encounters became

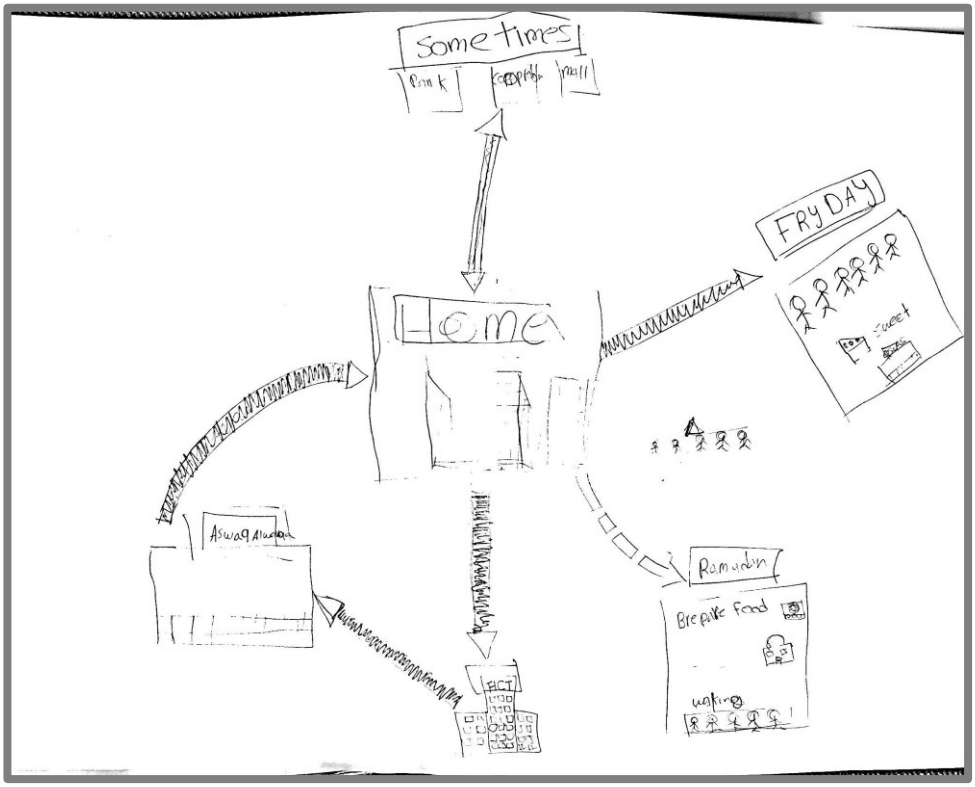


Figure 31. Journey Map - Oasha

personalised and convivial. Watching Oasha speak, her posture straightens, her chest swells slightly as the intensive physical emotive capacities flow through her body; an emotional and affective account which reflects pride in her local community centre. Indeed, she contrasts her local Souqi to one a few kilometres drive away that sits in an entirely Emirati neighbourhood: *I went to the Souqi in Nad Al Hamar, it was empty.* Her voice swells with love for her niece, but overriding that emotion are the affirmations and recognition of her individuality in her Souqi.

Power, defined as a relational matrix, is seen working through the convivial encounters of everyday Dubai. Oasha's interactions with the range of employees in her mall are asymmetrical, encounters marked by nationality/citizenship, even *though they are Indian and Filipino*, her "standing" is higher than those with whom she interacts. The same configurations of power within domestic spaces are visible in the community space, through roles played out – those being served and those serving. As Ticku (2017) explains, the use of the Arabic word "*khadam*" (to serve) has a prominence in this context which underscores the persistence of master-servant relationships in both domestic and community spaces. Oasha is constantly aware of notions of difference.

At the same time, we could conceive of these relationships as those of 'familiar strangers' (Kathiravelu and Bunnell, 2018) a connection that is not quite friendship but one which has the potency to invigorate positive, reciprocal feelings. Oasha values these convivial events and expressions of everyday civility, filled with humour, fun and reciprocal care. She feels noticed and respected – in these situations, she has an agency lacking in other areas of her life, and feels acknowledged as a person. At an individual level, Oasha suffers the most amongst this group of women, in terms of her freedoms and in her personal lack of self-esteem. Her ability to act is severely curtailed by her wider family. In these convivial encounters in her local mall, Oasha has agency and can be herself. In this context, she matters. Encounters between Emiratis and noncitizen workers are often characterised by deference, obsequiousness, fawning and flattering (Reichenbach, 2015a) but Oasha's experiences are suggestive of a more equitable personal relations that build up over repeated occasions. In these encounters, Oasha's emotional needs are met, and her

"friends" in her local mall have the ability/power to offer acts of kindness and care, that build in themselves a sense of agency. The happiness that flows through the data also flows through the interrelations, in ways reminiscent of multi-cultural workplaces where humour and banter are used to simultaneously break down barriers, and build up a sense of belonging (Wise, 2016).

5.3.2 At work

The workplace was offered as a space where for the possibility of crossing cultural divides. Anood looks forward to friendships suggesting that intercultural interactions are transforming significantly

> I will be working in a hospital and most of the health sector staff they are expats…they are from Philippines and Indian...Emiratis are rare…so I will be facing this challenge and maybe it will lead to friendship and so I think its nowadays, it's becoming more common now, Emirati groups were separate and expatriates were separate and no friendships between them now it's more common to have mixed friendships.
>
> Anood Interview June 2016

There is perhaps hope too, in Oasha's confounding statement that, whilst riddled with prejudice and stereotypes suggests a different type of working relationship that could materialise

> there was one guy who breaks the rule that Indian don't know very much, at Central Hospital and his name was Sanjay, he was a superman of MRI, he loved MRI and he impressed on me to love MRI… I fell in love with MRI because of him, he was like my father, he laughed with me, he joked with me, he treated me like my daughter and he taught me many things about MRI …and I wish I could work with him in his department …
>
> Oasha Interview June 2016

Otherness may be embedded in these two extracts, but Oasha and Anood are the only two of the participants who express a desire to develop meaningful relationships between themselves and non-Emiratis. In trying to account for this, I wonder if it is because both of them are involved in the healthcare sector and thus their personal ethics can see across cultural and ethnic boundaries, but this would not account for Oasha's persistent prejudice against other nationalities.

5.3.3 Dubai's Convivial Limits

Thinking through Dubai's convivial limits, I turn to the literature on conviviality and multiculturalism. A requirement for civic attachment is to develop conviviality and reciprocity (Hinchliffe and Whatmore, 2006) and an understanding of belonging that allows for a building of shared identities (Harris, 2015). Oasha's example of her relationship with Sanjay suggests possibilities for establishing a shared identity as MRI professionals. Sanjay being the holder of knowledge and Oasha as trainee, the relationship pivots on the operation of power/knowledge, as one of teacher-apprentice, but there is also the allusion to father/daughter relations and Oasha's emotions in this regard, outdoes her racial prejudice. Her prejudice is complex given that her mother is Indian and so here, she is able to find a reason to relate to Sanjay that reduces the need to make judgements based on ethnicity.

Professional identities are then, one area that may allow for a shared understanding of belonging in the workplace as Anood suggests, but overall in the Dubai context, are few spaces for shared belongings and interactions that advance understandings of difference to prosper between Emiratis and noncitizens. An 'emergent mode of co-existence' (Wise and Velayutham, 2013) will always be predicated on the possession of citizenship and thus evolving shared belonging becomes more complex. Highlighting this complexity are Back and Sinha's (2016) tools for multicultural politics

- Fostering attentiveness and curiosity
- Care for the city and a capacity to put yourself in another's place
- Worldliness and making connections beyond local confines
- Developing an aversion to the pleasures of hating
- Making connections and building home (ibid., p.530)

These encapsulate a longing for coherence, not as the eradication of difference, but in the forging of a singular purpose – making connections and building a home – a call for inclusion, not exclusion and an openness to the future (ibid.). Multicultural conviviality sits in opposition to defensive/reactionary responses, which is why, I argue, conviviality is limited between Emiratis and noncitizens. For Emiratis, as I have alluded to throughout this thesis, the discourses of precarity and cultural loss are played out in state media narratives and discourses. Acceptance of others requires

giving up superiority/privilege/advantage – a change in the relational matrix of power which Gray (2015) argues has happened in all but name as the state has become the facilitator of neoliberal economic policies, and grants considerable economic power to non-Emiratis. Nevertheless, acceptance of the Other would require Emiratis to take existential risks and to extend the familial nation to the cultural Other. At present, at the level of the individual, amongst Emirati women students, this appears as unacceptable, as this would negate the status currently conferred upon Emiratis. This fact is evidenced in an emotive and affective cultural politics that impedes inclusion and a sense of 'thrown-togetherness' (Massey, 2005). Dubai, ironically, which presents as a global city, a city that sends positive and welcoming trajectories outward and compels a flow of inward migration excludes her own citizens from partaking in a politics of multiculturalism. How this happens is investigated in the following section.

5.4 The Politics of Emotion and Affect

5.4.1 Reproducing Social Norms through Emotion and Affect

My theorising in this section is indebted to Sara Ahmed's (2004) work on the cultural politics of emotion in that, moving out of my findings on the lack of opportunities for conviviality in Dubai, I am investigating the ways that this state of affairs has become normalised and taken for granted. In other words, I am trying to analyse what emotions are doing politically in a multicultural environment through interrogating the affects/emotions articulated by Emirati women students. I reiterate my position on the emotion/affect distinction by noting that whilst emotion and affect are potentially discrete, it is impossible to separate them (Åhäll, 2018). I agree also, following Wetherell (2012) that the inclusion of the social and political as well as the individual, offers a productive methodology of affect. In this sense then, this section of research follows feminist poststructural thinking in using affect to understand the imbrication of social and political structures into everyday life (Pedwell and Whitehead, 2012). In essence, 'a feminist approach to the politics of emotion through gender is about how we become invested in social norms' (Åhäll, 2018, p.41).

Up to this point in this thesis, I have taken a broader, more fluid approach to data analysis that has used understandings of space and spatiality to investigate modes of

subjectivity construction out of the everyday practices and spaces of daily life. In this final section of *Inhabiting* I use the approach to affect advocated by Ahmed (2004) and exemplified by Åhäll (2018) and Shi (2017), that by taking 'the social into account means that *that which flows is not affect per se, but objects*' (Åhäll, 2018, p.40). This is delineated in Ahmed's description of the stranger

> To recognise somebody as a stranger is an affective judgment: a stranger is the one who seems suspicious; the one who lurks. I became interested in how some bodies are "in an instant" judged as suspicious, or as dangerous, as objects to be feared, a judgment that can have lethal consequences. There can be nothing more dangerous to a body than the social agreement that that body is dangerous (2014, p.211).

This is a compelling line of investigation – the emotive data collected through my research, paints a picture of a collective stranger the "Other", preconceived as different/perhaps dangerous/untrustworthy and lesser. Ahmed argues that it is not possible to attend to the particulars of a single affective interaction when one body has already been affected by another; rather we need to concentrate on the preceding histories that accompany the subject to comprehend how spontaneous bodily reactions are mediated (ibid., p.212). In my discussion, affect is evidenced through the bodies of the "Other" – the "Other" is the object that flows.

*****

- Lovely people because all nationalities live together in peace.
- It showed that even that there are several nationalities in Dubai but they live peacefully together and there is no racism

Anood Written Response to *City of Life* June 2016

> I don't think much about it [the multicultural city] because I lived in this neighbourhood entire my life, and I already know people that I used to visit when I was younger… [it] benefits me that I'm exposed to many nationalities and that I don't see myself as a racist or discriminating others because since I was young I used to play with Indian/Philippines/Yemenis kids and I don't mind have a conversation with them.

Mouza Written Response *City of Life* June 2017

In ways that parallel contemporary discussions around white privilege in the UK, the responses to the film *City of Life* demonstrate the invisibility for Emirati female students of a system that benefits one group over another (Eddo-Lodge, 2017). The

two responses are deeply political. In good faith, Mouza and Anood conceive of racism as violent acts perpetuated by individuals rather than a structurally and socially cemented way of thinking and being. The positioning of a cultural Other in relation to Emiratis and Emiratiness, not visible to them, because of their normalised positions of societal privilege. In the sections that follow, I use affective interactions drawn from the data and position them with preceding histories to show how the normalisation of Otherness is mobilised and sedimented within Emirati attitudes and behaviours. These hierarchies have been generated through race, gender and class and have come to control and discipline relations between Emiratis and non-Emiratis which

> ultimately inform the ontological constructions of humanity based on racial constructions of otherness, expressed through categories of citizenship and influenced by notions of neoliberal globality in the contemporary period (Ticku, 2017, p.57).

The data evidenced pairs of emotion that worked together in tandem. These were:

- Pride/Shame
- Fear/Disgust
- Fury/Contempt
- Hate/Resentment

Each of these pairs was articulated by more than one of the participants with reference to a similar cultural Other, but no participant voiced the full range of emotional affects. In my analysis, I created an image (Appendix 13) that I conceived of as a fabric, an emotional mesh, built up to signify how a cultural politics of affect works as a

> membrane to clothe the individual body in a social space of relationality, and conversely, to clothe the social body with a mediatised membrane capable of augmenting the exchange and flow of individual bodies' social and cultural differences within and across social bodies (Wodiczko, 1999 in Ellsworth, 2005, p.130).

Due to constraints in the length of the thesis I shall only analyse the first two pairs of emotions and I use amalgamated narratives to pertain to collectively-held emotions.

5.4.2 Pride and Shame

As two self-conscious emotions that reflect on the worth and/or value of the self, in one's own or other's eyes (APA, 2020), pride and shame are acutely felt in one's body and as Ahmed (2004) suggests can reform and deform the body. As mirror opposites that are mutually constructing, they are at the centre of subjectivity constitution (Probyn, 2010). The intensity of physical feeling and biological response engendered by shame and pride speak to their effects which are powerful, performative and productive (Johnstone, 2019).

5.4.2.1 Building Dubai

> The hospital is a place, when I enter I feel proud, because if I compare to other countries we are much better…even the government health centres…. I think it is very good, even if it's crowded and late...and the private hospitals…there are so many and people come from outside the UAE and so I feel comfort
>
> The metro and the RTA services make me feel proud and if I wasn't Emirati, and I see this I would say they were lucky because the country is taking care of them so I feel proud because everyone uses them.
>
> When I see Burj Khalifa - it makes me feel proud…we entered the world age…especially after the Tom Cruise movie and happiness I mean an Arab city was capable of building the tallest building in the world…and everyone is looking and taking pictures…I was a volunteer for the Emirates Literature Festival and I remember an author telling me that we had different spices and smells and I remember feeling pride…we showed them Emirati hospitality …something they might only hear, but it is real
>
> Amalgamated Narratives: Mouza/Anood/Shamma/Maitha June 2016/17

Pride emitted from the responses to images of the built environment, the spectacular, the essence of Brand Dubai. Participants appreciate recognition of the achievements of Dubai by the Arab and Western world. Taking a comparative approach, participants place Dubai (and the UAE) at the forefront of modernisation and development in the Arab region, which further coalesces as national pride – feats of a nation in renaissance. Material achievements in terms of infrastructure represent not only physical and

modernising advancements but operate as a signifier co-constituted with peace and stability alongside wisdom and foresight in leadership, elements lacking in the majority of the Arab world. As such, Dubai as an image, presents as a role model for the region, and its popularity in terms of the number of noncitizens who chose to live there gives credence to the pride and affection that participants describe. Individual pride, self-construed, is projected on the collective entity of Dubai and Emiratis as Anood suggests *I might feel jealous...if I was from another Arab country - I might feel I wish we could compete with them.* Dubai's visual representation, acting as a signifier of Dubai's achievements, was read by the participants from their respective positions of privilege. It was important to me as a researcher, to try to peel back the layers of affective responses and to consider whether there was a mirror image to the pride that was so evidently invested within participants' narratives.

Me: How much do you think Emiratis contributed to this?
MOHMA: [Long pause] …maybe little
Me: And how does that make you feel?
MOHMA: Frustrated…because they don't appreciate how others sacrificed for us…especially the small minorities, because these building were made by the Indians … locals will not do this so they have to bring other nationalities… and you're kind of like bashing them …or telling them names when they are the ones who are building your house, they are building these amazing things, so we shouldn't be calling them names and looking at them with resentment, or thinking they are poor…they left their families and their villages to come here, if they had amazing salaries they wouldn't come here….so I don't think everyone appreciates it
MOHMA: I feel that they don't have some rights that we have, that if they hurt themselves, like if they cut themselves and they come to the hospital they …I personally did many X-ray for workers with bleeding fingers, bleeding all over, and some of them have lost their fingers and they are there smiling in our faces and I am sad for them, I cried and they need to care, they deserve it and they need it as they are working harder than us, and we benefit from all these things like the malls
MOHMA: And I feel sad also…no…first embarrassment …because for sure he's older than me, and he's working harder than me, under more pressure than me and gaining less than me,

and he's a part of Dubai development, if we don't have these workers we would not have achieved what we have now…and worry that maybe the hot weather will affect them

MOHMA: It makes me feel sad…because the image you know it shows the sun is strong , this poor guy is there, working and he may have some problems…it's a tiring job

MOHMA: And that is why they have the regulations that they cannot work between midday and three in the summer months…

Amalgamated Narratives: Maryam/Maitha/Oasha/Hind/Mouza/Anood June 2016/17

Oftentimes empathetic, I suggest these narratives swirl with shame, although the term is never used outright. The nature of shame is that it operates, as Ahmed (2004) suggests through an inter-play of concealment and exposure. Shame, such as this, requires a witness, and in our conversations, the concealment, or invisibility of injustice behind Dubai's attainments is exposed and the inequities and maltreatment of others is brought into the open. The Emirati women students as privileged citizens have nowhere to turn. Faced with the impossibility of denial, and although they personally are not responsible for the injustices, as the holders and beneficiaries of the nation's privilege and national pride, they are required to confront the shame of the nation. This is overwhelming and impresses on their skin, it is consuming and corporeally felt. It is acknowledged. And yet, in an instance, it passes and in order to re-inscribe the nation and the self with pride, a foil is found. The regulations that prohibit employers from allowing construction workers to labour between the hours of 12:00 and 3:00pm in July, August and September, are produced as evidence of a caring and kind nation. Pride is recovered. I suggest here that the nation-state is re-inscribed as gracious and generous and that gratitude should be forthcoming from the bodies of those who toil.

Figure 32. Photo-Elicitation Image (Labourers 2)

5.4.2.2 Entitlement – Enfeeblement

> you know Emiratis now they all want to work in offices and in cold places… like before it was solely on us and now we just want desk jobs, we don't want to get our hands dirty… we hate long working hours… our men they don't work the same as they do there…you know the things that made the Gulf depend on the Indians and that stuff, because of the weather and they cannot do like outside work…Now, they depend to the easy life, the lazy life and they are not used to working hard …and our children now they changed, they are at home, watching TV
>
> Anood/Shamma/Reem Interview June 2017

Male bodies in spaces of labour activate contradictory and complicated affective reactions from Emirati women students (for example Figure 32.). Analysing the above extract, I am able to infer two phenomena: a corporeal comparison between Emirati men and the male cultural Other; and a deliberation on the spaces of labour, past and present which manifests in the corporality of contemporary male Emirati bodies.

Contemporary Emirati male corporeality exists in offices, air-conditioned spaces, uncontaminated indoor areas; these are non-perspiring, clean, hygienic bodies. Bodies of the male cultural Other (here hailed as Indian) are perceived unclean, toiling

in the external heat, sweating, labouring over long hours. On the one hand, the Emirati bodies represent the status and prestige associated with Emiratiness but on the other hand, these bodies belong to the easy-life – lazy, listless, emasculated and passive bodies. The presence of bodies enfeebled by prestige and entitlement evokes shame, a weakness has been exposed - the bodies and resilience of Emirati men have been depleted, and the participants express their regret and frustration. Juxtaposed besides the bodies of labourers, the male Emirati figure signifies the mirrored nature of pride/shame, for 'pride creates shames and vice versa' (Johnstone, 2019, p.219). The shame provoked by enfeeblement/emasculation requires concealing.

Understanding such bodily judgements rent on the materiality of the corporeal form reveals the inclusions and exclusions from spaces of consumption and luxury and how affective discourses are invested in the social and spatial norms of the Emirati context. We see here, how bodies are both produced in space and produce space; the material presence of labourers in the outside spaces, make this an area unsuitable for Emirati bodies and vice versa in terms of air-conditioned spaces. Thus, it becomes possible to create zones of segregation based on race and class. This can be witnessed for instance, by the use of signage at the entrance of malls disallowing work boots and so enforced by security guards, labourers are excluded from spaces of prestige and status.

At the same time as witnessing the discursive-affective spatial divide, the extract resonates with melancholia, qualia of nostalgia and loss, over a temporal-spatial rift. Spaces of labour in the past are now symbolised as sites of critical heritage in which national pride resides (Khalaf, 2002). These sites have been lost, taken over by the Other as Emiratis have abandoned certain professions: Mouza decries the loss of maritime knowledge; Hind and Anood yearn for the traditional *souqs,* now staffed by Indian and Iranian shopkeepers, to be occupied by Emiratis but note the shame and lack of prestige in such occupations. Again, contours of pride/shame are revealed, showing the powerfully productive nature of status and prestige trumping the shame of losing inherent cultural knowledge and places. However, as a mother of five sons, Reem laments the entitled sense of appropriateness of particular forms of labour (Al-Waqfi and Forstenlechner, 2012) intimating that it has a detrimental effect on both

the Emirati male psyche and results in a lack of Emirati male role models. Interestingly, she craves a society where there is no cultural Other *and* where shame does not exist in the performance of manual or unskilled labour. Her vision is for a society where Emiratis participate at all levels and where there is resilience, in other words, where there is no need to conceal

> you know like in Oman, when I went there, I see them driving the taxis and they are in the petrol station…that's what I want to happen in our country…that's the point I am trying to make …I want to take the foreigners out and have the locals working everywhere and develop their country… they will accept it if they see they don't have a choice.
>
> Reem Interview June 2017

5.4.3 Fear and Disgust

Unlike pride and shame, the self is not at the centre of these two emotions. Fear is considered a basic emotion, a response to an imminent threat where anxiety is understood to comprise more complex cognitive processes that anticipate future dangers (Woody and Teachman, 2000). My intention in this analytical section is not to distinguish between the psychology of the two emotions, indeed elements of both arise, but to consider the way that fear/anxiety operates through the object of the Other to create and reinforce a politics of difference. Ahmed (2004) argues that bodies play an inherent role, as they do in the manifestation of the pride/shame complex, in the use of fear/anxiety as an affective economy – fear has a lack of residence and is slippery, it slides between signs and bodies. She notes that distance is re-established between bodies, whose difference is read off the surface. Fear, for Ahmed, involves relations of proximity that are crucial to the establishment of 'apartness' (ibid., p.63). Ahmed defines 'anxiety as an approach to an object' and suggests that 'fear is produced by an object's approach' (ibid.) Considering, in this section, the object as the cultural male Other it is through the movement and anticipation of the Other's movement that fear/anxiety flow. The designation of the object as a threat comes through discursive-affective histories (ibid.) and the conditioned learning through intergenerational and hereditary modelling (Woody and Teachman, 2000). As such, fear/anxiety produces restrictive constraints on the social and bodily spaces of the Other and extends that of those in power. In this way,

fear aligns bodies with social hierarchies (Ahmed, 2004) and maintains dominance–based social order (Woody and Teachman, 2000).

The means of learning what constitutes disgusting are the same as for fear (ibid.) and disgust also works to play a role in the hierarchizing of spaces (Ahmed, 2004, p.88). My utility of disgust in this analysis has a more corporeal emphasis than Ahmed's as is appropriate to this data. I follow the portrayal of disgust, as a hostile and visceral emotion of disrespect (Woody and Teachman, 2000), as it is the sensory provocation and the corporeality of the response that emerges from my findings. Disgust holds connotations of impurity, debasement and repugnance and where the behaviour invoked by fear is to diminish through avoidance; disgust compels an immediate physical reaction of withdrawal, repulsion or recoil. In the following extracts interplays of fear, anxiety and disgust arise.

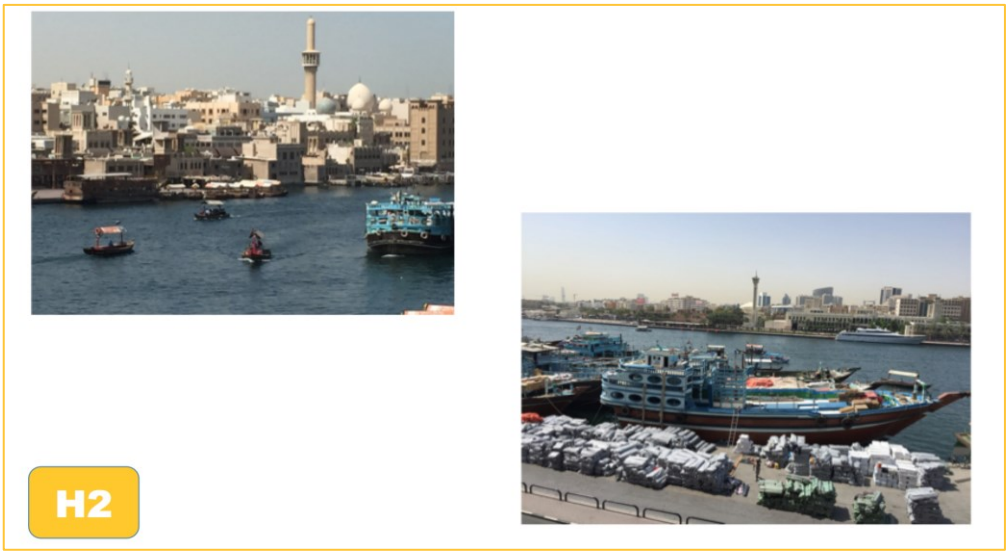


Figure 33. Photo-Elicitation Image (Heritage 2)

Me:	What about this …when you see the Dhows going to other countries…
Anood:	Sometimes I'm afraid… I don't know why maybe I've seen the film where someone will hide and the criminals will come and he will like make this…we don't have it but I don't like to walk this area after sunset
Me:	We're back to Naif now and you say you go there every now and then…do you enjoy it when you go there?

Anood: No
Me: Because …
Anood: Err…because of the way the Indians look at us…not the Indians…the workers
Me: The workers?
Anood: Yes, because…

Anood Interview June 2016

The *dhows* in the image have sailed up and down the Arabian Gulf for decades, they represent the core of the history of Dubai, indeed, Dubai's success is predicated on the success of the Creek as a trading hub (Heard-Bey, 2005). Anood's immediate response to H2 (Figure 33.) is ingrained fear. She reads the image as fearful, not as a signifier of heritage. Anood is honest, she admits she may be irrational and suggests she is reminded of films in which criminal elements could potentially "assault" her. This reminds me of how, as a child with an active imagination and a propensity for reading Enid Blyton, I conjured up robbers breaking into the house and/or scenes of being kidnapped. But unlike my innocent, normal childhood fears, Anood's fear is different, it is more insidious – her fear works to warn her to stay away from the threat and thus becomes an integral cog in a system of 'apartness'. The second half of Anood's narrative moves to CS5 (Figure 34.), a space where Emirati female students find themselves under the gaze of the cultural Other.

Figure 34. Photo-Elicitation Image (Cityscape 5)

MAA: when I'm walking I feel there is something wrong… like I am in the wrong area doing the wrong thing… because of the way the Indians look at us…not the Indians...the workers but the area itself I like it because it has some of the old traditions

MAA: …except for the smell… because these areas they smell…sweat and all that Now Naif Souq it's busy with African, Indian people and you don't feel you are in Dubai - too much other places you face non-Emirati people – but here it's too much - you don't see Emiratis …like if I go there, I won't feel safe

Me: What do you think could happen? What makes you feel that way?

MAA: I don't know – even though it's crowded I don't feel safe, I dunno why

Me: What might happen?

MAA: It could be rape… and I'm not saying it's not a safe place but it's how I feel

Amalgamated Narrative Mouza Anood Alyazia June 2016

With a male-to-female ratio of 2.3 males to every one woman in Dubai (Hilotin, 2019), it is unsurprising that particular spaces of the city emerge as male domains. These spaces are further invoked by the repetition of stereotypes, which, refracting gendered and racialised beliefs are at once the cause/effect of affective practices. This extract evidences the multiple ways in which this happens, some of which are valid, and others perhaps imagined. Firstly, it should be made clear, that in the last two decades, the *souq,* whose shops are predominantly owned by Indian traders, has been a space of change: the transformed nature of retail and construction of luxury indoor malls has reduced the need for Emiratis to shop in the *souq*; there has been an influx of traders from African sub-Saharan countries and China (Keshodar, 2014; Pelican, 2014; Wang, 2020); Deira, where this souq is located has become a residential hub for transnational traders (Mirzoev and Stephan-Emmrich, 2018); and practically speaking, the area has become more congested and thus less accessible by car. For these Emirati female students then, the *souq* again, is less a place of tradition and heritage, but a stigmatised and unfashionable space owing to the lower-priced and lower-quality goods available. It is only frequented if a specific item is required that cannot be purchased elsewhere. The male gaze (or stare) remarked upon by participants is common-place and a reflection on the racialised and gendered

demographic. Bhattacharyya (2014) outlines the high prevalence of sexual violence against women across India and speaks to how patriarchal and social norms allow it to endure in India. In an area where there is a pre-dominance of Indian men, it should not be a surprise to see the importation and perpetuation of social behaviours in an area where a male Indian population is the majority. In the Dubai context, it is highly unlikely that a physical assault on an Emirati woman would happen in the space of the *souq* as Emiratis are protected by the status and connections they hold as citizens, but the male stare is keenly felt and has been noted by a number of my interlocutors as well as in other research. That the male stare occurs and causes considerable discomfort for these women, encourages the emergence of more-damaging stereotypes. In the *souq*, the crowded bodies of Indians and Africans become a cause for concern, the implication of a crowd, reveals a potential of touching, or close contact with a foreign body. Disgust surfaces, the smells that emanate from labouring and foreign bodies is deemed repugnant and dirty, and the tone of the voice suggests something savage and uncivilised. The suggestion of rape is broached. In a pull back from the severity of the accusation, the speaker retracts, she knows it won't happen, but that is how she feels. The circulation of affects is complete. The intimation that were the *souq* crowded with Emiratis it would be a safe place reveals the cleft between the Other and us, Emiratis – articulated through the Other as fear/anxiety and disgust.

*****

Figure 35. Photo-Elicitation Image (Labour 1)

MA: When I pass by, I feel it's not safe…I feel afraid because there's many Indians…it is not too much safety… And you know these places are not for ladies
Me: What do you think would happen? What do you think they would do?
MA: Yanni, I'm not afraid …but it is not safety… never mind, I still go there, they cannot do anything…but still it is not safety
Me: Do you hear stories about things happening?
MA: Err, yea…. But I still go…even sometimes I take my car I go here by myself…even sometimes I fix my car I go here…
Me: Do you ever have any trouble?
MA: No, I didn't have any bad experience but it's still not safe…to go alone …if you have something to do …not yanni even with your friend…but it is not safe

Amalgamated Narrative – Maryam/Alyazia June 2017

Using a feminist critique (Ahmed, 2004) we are witness to the images of industrial areas of Dubai being read by Maryam and Alyazia as spaces of feminine vulnerability. The site itself is read as intrinsically dangerous, but it is the sense of the self in the space that alludes to potential risk and vulnerability. As Ahmed states 'feminist critics argue that fear is a response to the *threat* of violence' (ibid., p.69). It is the "Indian" inhabitants of the space, even as they are invisible in the photographs, whose presence demands evasion and avoidance. It is fear that then 'restricts the body's mobility' (ibid., p.69). However, this fear is not an instinctive female bodily reaction but 'structured and mediated' (ibid., p.70) by authorised narratives already circulating that allow the inhabitants of these sites to be portrayed as threatening and as fitting objects of fear and danger. In order to be safe, industrial areas such as these images portray, should not be visited alone, or even with a female friend, according to Maryam and Alyazia. As Ahmed states

> women, if they are to have access to feminine respectability, must either stay at home (femininity as domestication), or be careful in how they move and appear in public (femininity as a constrained mobility). Feelings of vulnerability and fear hence shape women's bodies as well as how those bodies inhabit space. Vulnerability is not an inherent characteristic of women's bodies; rather, it is an effect that works to secure femininity as a delimitation of movement in the public, and over-inhabitance in the private (2004, p.70)

Maryam/Alyazia's narrative brings together the politics of mobility with the politics of respectability. Home, as we have seen in Chapter 4 and Section 5.2 is regarded as a safe and honourable space. To engage with the inhabitants of industrial areas, the objects of fear, can potentially bring into question one's honour, respectability and reputation as well as be potentially dangerous. As Reichenbach (2015a) suggests though, spatial practices are moderated predominantly as a reaction to "gazes that matter" – to the eyes of their own Emirati community. Given that very few Emiratis venture into industrial areas, it is unlikely that they would be spotted. Both Alyazia and Maryam, because they do not have close male relatives, have both been to such areas, out of necessity, and state that they will continue to do so. My analysis tells me this: these are two forceful and independent women who refuse to allow limitations on their movement, as women, in order to achieve an imperative, such as repairing a car, because they know that the danger of the narrative is greater than the danger in reality. They understand the risk of being seen is minimal, and they have a "valid excuse" should they be seen. However, they continue to perpetuate the narrative of fear because they can and because it is in their interests to bolster their own national identity as Emiratis who are vulnerable to cultural threat.

5.4.4 Exhausting Possibilities

As a researcher this has been an exhausting section to write. The prejudice has been difficult to deal with in a sensitive, non-judgmental manner. The participants are all women who I respect but I find these attitudes objectionable. Nevertheless, I note that such disparaging affects also circulate in the opposite direction too, as in the words describing Emiratis on a blog run by ex-HCT employees (HCT_Sucks, 2020). To summarise this section, I apply the process of othering put forward by Haynes et al. (2006) in order to saliently contextualise utterances in this section. Categorisation of the Other using affective-discursive language comprising value-laden binaries has resulted in their absorption as self-evident truths by many participants. The absence of relationships between the in-group –that is the Emiratis - and the out-group – noncitizen residents, facilitate this process of Othering. Positioned at the lowest end of the social hierarchy are dark male bodies, homogenously defined as Indian and/or African, cast as contaminants and/or criminals, (real or potential) degenerates who are less worthy. Using such racialised characteristics results in a depiction of a dehumanised, amorphous mass of Asian and African bodies. This group is the object

of fear, abject through the generation of fear. These bodies are legitimately seen to inhabit spaces of construction, the older enclaves of the city such as *souqs*, and industrial areas of the city but are otherwise excluded from the everyday lives of Emirati female students. Entry into spaces of Emiratiness is perceived as transgression of boundaries and equally, vice versa, Emirati women are not expected to trespass into areas of Otherness. Whilst gratitude and acknowledgement of the roles that this group play in the development of the city, the shame of this fact is concealed by national and civic pride in their hometown and by the interpellation of the group as contaminants and/or criminal.

5.5 Searching for Lines of Flight

> If you compare Dubai to Ras Al Khaimah you will not find the neighbours like this, and the friends and the marriage, I don't think, it will be really rare that you find like Emirati is friend of expat or getting married to expat
>
> Anood Interview June 2016

Anood confirms that relations may be more relaxed in Dubai than in other emirates which is to say that there are significant differences between the emirates and points, possibly to individual instances, rather than wholesale social change. In one of the final interviews, Mouza showed me an Instagram capture

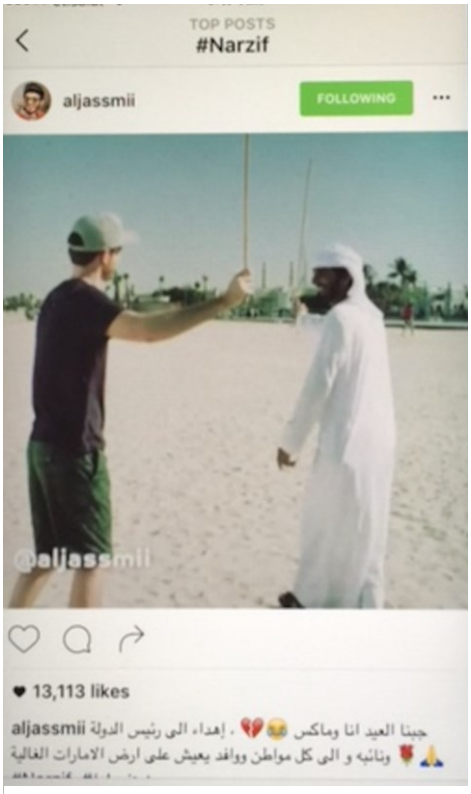


Figure 36. Social Media Image (Mouza - Instagram)

> This is an advertisement, a video, for the National Day of UAE, I took a capture, different people from UAE they were dancing and celebrating…and it was interesting, because like they brought people from different places, countries and if it was like 5 years or ten years ago and they did like this, for National Day, ALL the people in the clip would be Emiratis, so when I was watching this, I was like a little bit interested, I saw a lot of people in the clip, including Max
>
> Mouza Interview June 2016

Max of Arabia is a well-known social media influencer in Dubai (Flanagan, 2016) a third-culture kid (Van Reken and Pollock, 2009), one of the few contemporary White expatriates who has mastered the UAE dialect of Arabic. Whilst not underestimating his linguistic achievements, I argue that Max represents not a line of flight but a tracing. Max's use by the state media in a promotional tool, is a way of acknowledging that inequalities exist and that noncitizens may feel a strong sense of belonging. Whist heart-warming and happy, there is no transgression here – Max is welcomed into the fold as a proxy Emirati – he has been co-opted to represent, reproduce and recirculate the perpetual image of a familial nation with a male patriarch. He, like Emiratis, becomes an indebted subject, subject to the same flows of privilege and precarity.

I return to the public pedagogy impetus behind this thesis to summarise the findings from the data in which Emirati women students have shed light upon social relations between citizens and noncitizens. The data has made significant contributions to the understanding of how spatiality and affect co-produce and maintain a social structure of dominance and hierarchizing.

I began the chapter by engaging with the Al-Qasimi's (2020) concept of the Emirati subject as one steeped in precarity and listened to the voices of the participants as they spoke through their affective experience of the demographic imbalance. At this juncture, despite the normalisation of the situation, fear and anxiety emerged as important underlying psycho-affective responses and the characterising othering began to surface. The chapter then moved to the domestic environment which I hold acts as a microcosm of the wider community. It is inside the home and through domestic workers that the values assigned to Emiratis and cultural Others become concretized; this is witnessed in the hours of work, the monetary rewards and especially in the amount of personal and communal spaces assigned to domestic workers. The space of the home is the initiator of biopolitical techniques which, beginning at the level of mundane and ordinary social interactions, seep out into the rest of the community. Lines of control and authority contour relations of power that are mirrored in the wider cityscape of Dubai.

From here, the chapter moved out of the home to investigate social interactions in everyday life. I found these to be limited and inconsequential for most participants. Where these were evidenced in local shopping centres and some workplaces in the healthcare sector, I applied the attribute of conviviality as a signifier of successful multiculturalism. Back and Sinha (2016) outline potential requirements for convivial living to arise which include openness and curiosity, care for the city and empathetic disposition and of significance, a rejection of hate. In order for a sense of shared belonging to be built all community members need to possess these capacities. My findings demonstrated that whilst the convivial encounters that do occur in Dubai can be seen as positive and hopeful, there is no civic home for Emiratis and noncitizens to come together to tackle such cultural differences such as attitudes to alcohol. I argue then, that the lack of places and spaces for convivial living to grow further impresses difference on both sides (Back and Sinha, 2016).

The final section of the chapter revealed these shortcomings centring on a cultural politics of emotion (Ahmed, 2004). Using pairs of affective/emotional responses, a picture built up that revealed a suite of negative emotions. Woven together these create a textured fabric that wraps Emirati society in a framing of them and us. These frames depict the other as contaminant/criminal or as disrespectful, greedy and desirous of privilege and economic gain. Ultimately, a politics of fear/hate of the other plays out in classed, gendered and racialised framings. It is the politics of affect and emotion that allows for the creation and reproduction of subjugation and subservience.

Vulnerability is the key driver of this affective politics, in which we witness the making of Emirati subjects as indebted and subjugated, holders of both privilege and precarity (Al-Qasimi, 2020). It is fear for themselves that is so powerful (Haynes, Devereux and Breen, 2006), fear of replacement by the Other that could result in extinction/depletion/annihilation as alluded to on multiple occasions by my interlocutors. Through threats of loss – language, culture, identity, privilege, land – affect produces an indebted/subjugated Emirati being by drawing fear/hate through the object of the threat – the Other. Only the state can bulwark against the threat and thus, Emiratis are indebted to the state, in a subjugated role themselves, as children

to the patriarch. This well-known Dubai-based Emirati businessman sets out this relationship

> Our country is small and vulnerable to harmful influences from outside; both our security and economy are reliant upon a stable leadership that offers long-term structure, vigilance and red lines that cannot be crossed… I'm …grateful that the UAE's founder Sheikh Zayed Al Nahyan and Sheikh Rashid Al Maktoum, who cared for us like their own children, aren't here to witness the ingratitude displayed by a few spoilt and selfish people today. It's up to all proud Emiratis to maintain their legacy and do everything in their power to keep our beloved land from harm (Al Habtoor, 2011).

Using a critical interrogation of images and discourses, I have been able to leverage public pedagogy to forward our understanding of how and why subjectivities of Emiratis are constituted in specifically contextual ways. In thinking of the social relation between Emiratis and noncitizens, I am inclined to believe, in Deleuzian terms, like Al-Qasimi (2020) that these are firmly arboreal, implanted as roots and branches. If there are rhizomes, they have yet to sprout.

6 Learning

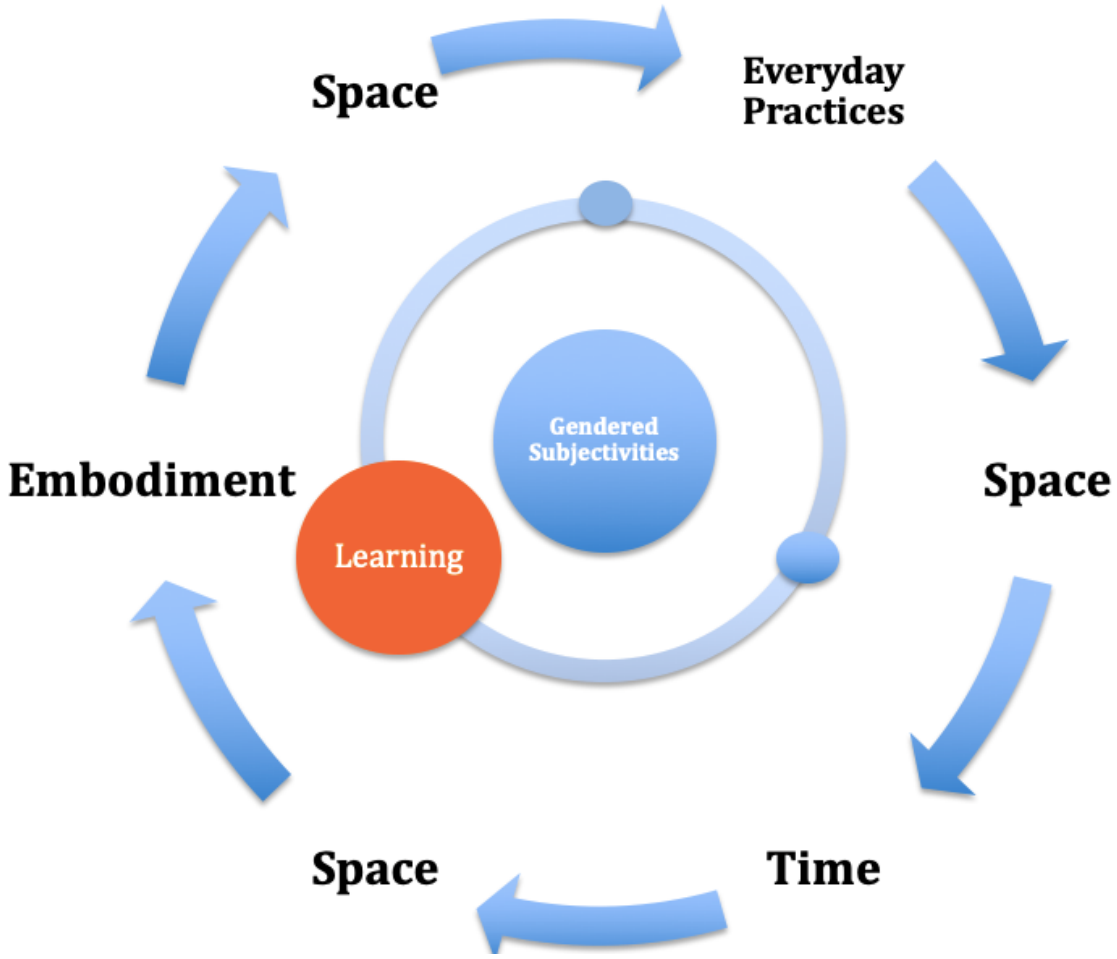


Figure 37. Analytical Guide: Chapter Focus - *Learning*

> I learnt how to respect others and how to listen to others and how to solve problems and how to be active in your place where you are, schools, or college or home. The things that education means is that you have your own footprint in the sand…when you do something and even if you leave it you can see it, you can say, I left my footprint and they will remember me
>
> Reem Interview June 2017

The uncovering of everyday life through an exploration of spatial practices has revealed much about the ways that *Learning,* through affective-discursive practices, is woven into the fabric of Emirati women students' lives. The final discussion chapter reverts to the study's conceptual foundations, public pedagogy and affect using Ellsworth's (2005) understanding of the body as a site of knowledge/knowing and a

being-continually-learning. This is defined as 'the learning self', which comes about through our everyday experiences. Ellsworth encourages pedagogues to think experimentally about learning, expanding the ways we apprehend activities of learning beyond memorization, assessment, laboratory work or essay writing and extending it to the ways in which knowledge materialises within our bodies as affective flows, to consider how learning is actualised within. This final chapter of data analysis and theorisation works through some of these ideas. Where Ellsworth has used mediated sites, performances and architectural spaces, this chapter covers everyday sites/spaces of learning that emerged from the data to include the home, the workplace, and online spaces as well as the students' college campus – DWC. Further to this, I extend the analysis of learning self to include trajectories of the discursive political, economic and cultural flows that I have followed thus far in the thesis, bringing together spatiality, subjectivity and learning.

6.1 Learning Selves/Subjects

6.1.1 Affective Flows of Ambition and Desire

Sometimes it came across almost imperceptibly, a lightening of vocal tone, or a quickening of words; the body might raise up slightly, a straightened back, an upright pose

> the most important thing is that Emiratis they don't want to stop their education, like me I don't want to stop at Bachelors, I want to go higher, and my parents before they would have said why do you want to go further, you have your husband and why do you want to kill yourself…just to hang your certificates on the wall, but now they understand, they are supportive and they know and this is the thing that I think has changed the most,
>
> Hind June 2016

> When I was in school, the school created a new Zainab ... from the attitude and made me know what I want in the future… made new friends and have relationships between the teachers and me…
>
> Zainab June 2016

Other times, it was unmissable

> I feel that books just opened my mind to so many things, new vocabulary, new things and the way you feel with the characters, it's not something I can describe to a non-book-lover…my friends they don't always get it
>
> Mouza June 2016

As responses to understandings of learning 'intensities, surfaces, sensations, perceptions and expressions' (Stewart, 2007, p.72) emerge as desires, flourishings, freedoms and openings. Participants' attitudes to learning and education are overwhelmingly positive and as the extracts above show, have had life-changing impacts on the participants. Emirati women students were keen to graduate for two reasons: firstly, access to employment and promotional prospects and secondly, embodied individualised symbolic meanings of pride and self-worth. When I asked Maryam, who was struggling to graduate why it was so important to her, her reply typified participants' responses

> Because this is my future, without it you can't do anything, and also, it's a challenge to myself, to prove that I can do it…because there are too many students they don't want to study …it is a challenge… sometimes and a degree it is important for your future, your career, your work, getting a higher position…it's your future
>
> Maryam June 2017

6.1.2 The Learning Self/Subject

Me:	Is studying important to you?
Shamma:	So important ... I want to be successful
Me:	What does that mean? Successful, it's a very broad word
Shamma:	Hmmm…first of all in my life...to have a better life…to have something to do…not sitting at home doing nothing…ok… not just sitting at home, watching TV, sleeping and going out, you have to have something to do ... even old women, they can sit at home and do a business…you have to do something

June 2017

Shamma's description of success evidences the discursive relays of women's empowerment through the modern Emirati social system (Bové, 1992). Her conceptions of success comprise:

- a world where women ought to be successful in the public sphere
- a critique of women who choose not to work
- designation of expectations of success upon women
- gratitude for available opportunities/options

Shamma's narrative emerges from her understanding of what learning can do for her and how it will assist her to become the person she aspires to be. Her beliefs around women's role in society have fundamentally transformed. Shamma went on to compare herself to her mother, only eighteen years older than herself and described how their aspirations and understandings of success/education represent that generational shift. For Shamma, success encompasses and is predicated upon notions of productivity, autonomy and responsibilisation as embedded in *Vision2021* – ideas of self-reliance, initiative and risk-taking. Shamma measures herself by these criteria and indeed, she is speaking a new sense of self into existence. It is through affective responses that this becomes possible. Shamma's taking up of responsibilisation as envisaged by *Vision2021* is moved by an internal affective desire, driven by emotive forces of ambition, pride and honour to become her version of successful.

Learning is positioned as the forerunner of success and holds an integral place in a discursive web of knowledge production's linkage to authoritarian neoliberalism (Bruff and Tansel, 2018) and those of women's empowerment (Hasso, 2009). We see here governance, in a Foucauldian form

> a versatile equilibrium, with complementarity and conflicts between techniques which assure coercion and processes through which the self is constructed or modified by himself (Foucault 1993 cited in Lemke, 2001).

Following this, I further interrogate the imbrication of learning selves – bodies that imbibe knowledge – and learning subjects – bodies and minds that are worked upon by self-disciplining discourses – in the assemblage of affective-discursive practices of productivity and entrepreneurialism that sit uneasily alongside those of the loyal, traditional-but-modern moniker. I further our understanding of Al-Qasimi's 'indebted subject', by interrogating its materialisation in Emirati women students. Through this exploration, I add further nuance to her concepts of symbolic indenture (privilege and precarity) and inheritance (through procreation and ancestry) explicating the role that gender plays in these iterations. I do not intend to paint a full picture but rather to advance our understandings of this assemblage and where they exist, to identify 'deviation[s] that operate outside the bounds of Emirati post-oil networks and their biopolitical discourses of reproduction and regeneration' (Al-Qasimi, 2020, p.64).

6.2 The Entrepreneurial Learning Self/Subject

6.2.1 The Neoliberalisation of Feminism

> when I joined work - that changed me … I saw people were getting educated…they like to study something which is unique…and hard, they see themselves as somewhere that is different from others…education was something I [should've] done before, I recognized this, it was late but it was not too late…
>
> like a government job…you will not stay there for your whole life, you have to have something, like your own business, something you do …you like it and you get money from it… I just recognized this in these nine years ...I recognized that and so in 2013 ... I went to HCT, to join the college again, to study, and they accepted me
>
> Maitha Interview June 2017

Novel forms of subjectivity are being envisaged, that present as encultured versions of neoliberal rationalisations. The rise of an entrepreneurial discourse of the self infiltrates the data, specifically in those participants who are already employed such as Maitha. As expressed by Shamma and Maitha, it is through education that this entrepreneurial way of being comes into practice. Entrepreneurialism rests on ideas of freedom and autonomy through capitalist, productive endeavours and for Emirati women uncouples their dependency on men (Ennis, 2019). This attractive prospect evidences the debt that Emirati women hold to the state for promoting women's empowerment and participation in the labour market, an endeavour, which from the state's perspective sees maximising economic growth and a form of oil income redistribution (ibid.).

Theorised economically, the neoliberalisation of feminism (Prügl, 2014) operates effectively as a palatable formation of feminism in the historical socio-cultural milieu of the UAE where liberty and gender equality ideals – potentially clashing with Islamic principles – are omitted. The discourse of responsibilisation embedded in *Vision2021* interweaves feminist ideas 'into rationalities and technologies of neoliberal governmentality' (ibid., p.617). This discourse reifies individual women's focus on their own aspirations, and intentions and aligns simultaneously with

consumerist desires and flows that are capitalised in the market place (Banet-Weiser, Gill and Rottenberg, 2019). This ideology demands the subject to reform in pursuit of a transnational gender equality project (Prügl, 2014). In this outcome, rather than changing the world to become more feminised, Emirati women's lives merge with the discourses of masculinised authoritarian neoliberal ideas that make little accommodation for the flows of female lives. Neoliberal feminisms thus function via

> changing attitudes through capacity building; in giving women access to resources; and in fostering individual aspirations and entrepreneurial identities. In other words, solutions lie in the responsibilisation and empowerment of women and men. Neoliberalism in this way constitutes a strategic project that thrives on the basis of biopolitical power, i.e. of a power that constitutes dependable individuals that hold themselves accountable to norms of market-embedded gender equality (ibid., p.620).

Integral to the successful functioning of neoliberal feminism in this context is the discourse of lifelong learning, embedded in *Vision2021* and other UAE government discourses. Maitha, as she witnesses her colleagues studying, working on themselves for the betterment of their lives, absorbs these values and takes on responsibility to become the entrepreneur of her self-development and looks to the state (the HCT) to provide the tools for this enactment (Olssen, 2006). As an autonomous learner, Maitha feels responsible for updating herself through the acquisition of skills and competencies, rather than knowledge per se, and as such she becomes a consumer of learning (Lambeir, 2013), in order to '*have something'*, a phrase that is repeated through participant narratives. As these ideas are increasingly taken up by Emirati women students, 'educative practices serve to entrench individualistic and consumptive choices as natural to the human condition' (Servage, 2009, p.37).

6.2.2 The Entrepreneurial Emirati Woman

> I have my own business, a photography studio and photographic design … wedding cards, logos, business cards … especially I like to take portraits. When you have your own business, if you take something out you should always put it back in … and with photography there's always equipment… my job, it is like a season, it doesn't always benefit me… sometimes I don't get anything for me… so when I work and get my first salary, I will take it and go to Madrid and watch a football match!
>
> Maryam June 2017

The discourses of the individualistic, entrepreneurial self/subject are evidenced here by Maryam. Already making moves into the entrepreneurial sphere with her own wedding video business she is astute and experienced enough to anticipate the financial precarity of bring self-employed. Thus, she is spurred on to complete her qualification by the potential employment opportunities opened through the public sector as well as desirous of the self-worth assigned through the degree certificate. In modern Dubai society, individual success and self-worth are aspirational essences sought after by this particular participant group: *I want to become one of the greatest photographers in the world…(Maryam)*. These findings chime with a raft of studies illustrating the moves that Emirati women have made to further their careers (Marmenout and Lirio, 2013; Tlaiss, 2014; Tlaiss, 2015; Samier, 2015). Education and what it may bring in terms of individual success is the key driver behind these students' educational motivations. They see themselves as marked by their achievements – these are individual achievements, goals and objectives that have been gained, yes, with family support, but are more about actualisations of the self, an autonomous, responsibilised self who charts her own course in life.

6.2.3 Indebted Subjects: The Flows of Privilege and Precarity

In this section I theorise around notions of debt and indebtedness as forwarded by Al-Qasimi (2020). In the UAE, debt binds individuals, society and the state together in various ways, both materially and symbolically. *Vision2021* operates as an affective-discursive tool and calls for individual Emiratis to muster their duty to the nation and rulers: through cultural preservation and reproduction as a means of incurring belonging; as gratitude for the generosity of the (welfare) nation-state; and through regenerative procreative strategies. I have shown in Chapter 4, the ways in which the desire to demonstrate status and prestige can cause financial overspending and material debt, which, when it becomes too great, sees individuals rescued by the state. This happens in spite of calls for responsibilisation as outlined in *Vision2021*. Nevertheless, the interplay of entrepreneurialism and responsibilisation functions alongside the discourses of duty as ways of actualising and repaying the debt that have been incurred.

6.2.3.1 Indebtedness to the Family/Nation

> I always have been an excellent student …I graduated from high school with a high GPA, 95.3%, and then I came to college… I kind of hated it…then I said I will quit…I don't want to continue my education …then I was forced to continue… my Dad…you can say, it was kind of forced and not forced…he was kind of angry and upset and he said I do this because I want good things for you….
>
> Anood June 2016

> I want to finish my study to make my family proud of me…especially my mum and dad…because they were very happy when me and Lamya were joining the college…and they were telling everyone… our daughters…our twins are studying…and they will become great things in the future
>
> Oasha June 2016

Anood and Oasha spoke intensely about their educational experiences and commitment. Their words and voices evoked a strong sense of duty, duty to family and loyalties as part of an enculturated lived body/bodies (Young, 2002). Oasha's loyalty/duty to her family and expressions of self-worth can be seen as a contemporary practice of conferring honour upon the kinship group (James and McLeod, 2014). Loyalty to the family becomes integral to the discourse of belonging and nationhood (Peterson, 2012) fitting the pattern whereby the nation's patriarchal hierarchy mirrors familial structure. The support that participants gain from their families to reach their educational goals strengthens the sense of belonging to the Emirati nation – as Anood says: *I feel so happy that I was born in the UAE, in a family with money, of course I am thankful I was born this way.*

As part of being interpellated as a lifelong learner (Simons and Masschelein, 2006), there is indeed an expectation of a future return; being part of a learning society is not only about creativity and participation, but pivots on the notion of the willingness to invest for a future return (ibid.). The future looms large in many participants' narratives, congealing with temporal ideas of perpetual modernisation and development, forever moving forwards (Massey, 2005). I argue that there is also a significant debt of gratitude to the state as supporters of women's empowerment. As later analysis shows, for some women their position as educated, participating citizens is precarious. Discourses of lifelong learning and participation promulgated

by, for example, *Vision2021*, outline and cement women's roles in the public sphere. Whilst these learning discourses do not, as Olssen (2006) suggests, promote a cosmopolitan engagement with the Other, they do underpin and support women's learning lives, particularly as the majority of HE for Emiratis is provided at the expense of the state and the state being the major employer of Emirati women (Smith, 2020). The return then, is 'a double entanglement' (McRobbie, 2004). Gratitude for the provision/funding of educative tools and the employment and promotion of women's visibility in the public sphere sits alongside unerring loyalty to the state and a productive economic return. In this formulation we witness the gendered iteration of symbolic duty and indebtedness (Al-Qasimi, 2020).

6.2.3.2 Debt to the Self: Personal Resilience

> I have been studying for nearly 10 years. I can't wait to graduate from the college. First, I went to the Vocational Institute but then they told us that these qualifications didn't count so I had to come back to the HCT. I am working full-time in a government department. I go to work every day from 7.30 to 2.30 and then have a quick rest and then come to college from 4.00 – 8.00 from Monday to Thursday. I am so tired, and so when I see pictures of the college I just feel worry and anxiety. But I have to study to get my Bachelors because if I don't I can't get a promotion.
>
> Amalgamated Narrative: Hind and Maitha 2016/17

Maitha and Hind's similar educational journey tells a story demonstrating the impetus to graduate from HE impacts the everyday decisions and routines of Emirati women in society. In spite of their social privilege, all participants with the exception of Shamma recollect instances of personal resilience. These include physical health problems (Anood, Alyazia), mental health issues (Oasha, Alyazia), time commitment (Maitha, Hind, Maryam, Reem), childcare issues (Hind, Reem) and educational failure (Zainab and Mouza both failed their Foundation year at Zayed University and transferred to DWC). In this sense, it is possible also to observe that these feelings of owing oneself something and being deserving of education, reflect the struggles of women in Britain in HE as recounted by Quinn (2003; 2004; 2016) and Moss (2004). Likewise, although the circumstances differ culturally and temporally, these educational struggles have allowed participants to stand on their feet (Tamboukou, 1999), to understand themselves and create new relations within themselves.

Over a decade, Hind and Maitha, have pushed the boundaries of what is acceptable for and expected from Emirati women. This has occurred over/through the time and space of daily patterned routines to transform their society's conception of what is an accepted/acceptable way of living life for Emirati women. Their words and actions show that the limits of acceptability have advanced considerably since earlier surveys of Emirati female entrepreneurs (Itani, Sidani and Baalbaki, 2011) and public sector workers (Williams, Wallis and Williams, 2013). Emirati women students' persistence can also be conceptualised as duty to themselves to become "successful" making use of the discourses of neoliberal feminisms and responsibilisation through lifelong learning. Significantly, these discourses have also been absorbed by male family members who have witnessed im/material sacrifices in pursuit of education that daughters, sisters, wives and cousins have made. In this regard, supporting the personal efforts undertaken by their own kin, media and social media reportage (Figures 2., 3., 37. & 38.) works on the Emirati population. Acting as pedagogical forces on the nation as a whole, and as inspirational, valued and respected figures, it becomes problematic for earlier patriarchal attitudes to hold sway, particularly in urban centres. Thus, individual personal resilience in the face of multiple challenges works in tandem with media images to redefine perceptions of Emirati women as community members who contemporarily and simultaneously embody dutiful, intelligent, ambitious actors in society. Whilst unevenly distributed, boundaries of possibilities are expanding because of these individual efforts such as those exemplified in the participant narratives, which then loop back into indebtedness to the family and nation.

UAE- Sheikh Mohammed praises Sarah Al Amiri, named one of world's most influential women

Figure 38. Press Release for Sarah Al Amiri (MENAFN, 2020)

Figure 39. Social Media Images from UAE Rulers on Emirati Women's Day (Morris, 2020)

6.3 The Procreative Subject

Precarity and threat, embedded in notions of ancestry, inheritance and cultural preservation, underscore Al-Qasimi's (2020) argument that all Emiratis are enveloped in the perpetuation of heteronormative and heteropatriarchal social systems. She calls for transgression as revolutionary desire. I scoured the data to

qualify and identify the presence of these ideas within Emirati women students' ways of thinking and being, and how they might interconnect with notions of the learning self. What reproductive and/or regenerative tracings or lines of flight might emerge?

6.3.1 Affect and the Loyal (Re)-Productive Citizen

Hind is the participant closest to the centre of the state with extended tribal connections. As mentioned earlier, Hind is able to study and meet her family/domestic commitments because she has a stable support system based around parents, in-laws and domestic labour (Marmenout and Lirio, 2013). Despite this, Hind makes reproductive choices – choices that reflect cultural changes and a shift towards individual autonomy. In a cultural milieu where large families are preferred, Hind has only one child – on one occasion, she wistfully mused *we are the minority, we are not the majority...so that's why, I hope people will understand me when I say that I want more than 9 children.* Her tone of voice betrays this as a fantastical wish; she knows this is highly unlikely to happen and yet she feels, she ought to have a large family, to help her nation flourish, to prevent further encroachment of the demographic imbalance. Hind reveals an emotive entanglement of guilt as her desire for career success and individual freedoms outweigh her instincts to be a traditional Emirati mother. This reflects a complex and confluence of expectations and agency between the paradoxical discourses that I have termed the 'loyal, productive citizen', where Hind's feelings oscillate between duty/procreation and autonomy/material freedoms. For Hind, there is an impossibility to achieve all her desires; she negotiates important life decisions against the backdrop of a system which ironically promotes economic return over care roles or reproduction (Banet-Weiser, Gill and Rottenberg, 2019) and gives value and monetary assistance to the (over-)pursuance of a materialistic lifestyle. Hind instead then, charts a course in which she attempts to "manage" her desires, a smaller family allows her to maintain her freedom/autonomy and contribute in part to the nation's procreative urgings. The choices that Hind and other Emirati women make are those shared by women globally (see for example Slaughter, 2012). Notably, Dubai's declining birth rates (Awad and Chartouni, 2010) follow worldwide trends that see increased education of women correlate with falling fertility rates (Gallagher, 2018). Hind's decisions and emotions demonstrate that as women are able to make choices over their reproductive capacity, state procreative strategies may not be able to counter desires for autonomous ways of living/being

and may find, they need to do significantly more to integrate more female friendly strategies to maintain their population.

6.3.2 The (Culturally) Reproductive Subject

> I am proud [of myself] because my mother was against me, she doesn't like songs, poets and poem, but now she's very proud of me because she says you did something worthwhile…she was always saying…see your cousin, she's a lawyer see your other cousin, she's a dentist…and you are only a poet…but in our country everyone loves poetry so I did it on my own with no one supporting me. Now I have 4-5 published songs and 200-300 poems…this happened in 3-4 years which other poets reach after 20-30 years of experience
> My goal is to do 2 things: I want to publish a book called Diwan and the other goal is to do my own place that gathers all the poets, only ladies, to do everything for them as poets I want to catch something for poets and gather all Dubai's poets.
> It's important [to graduate] even though I don't think I will ever work. I will never work I don't think, I will do my business, but my certificate just like one day I might need it…
>
> Alyazia Interview June 2017

This monologue evidences Ellsworth's notion of the body as a site of learning (2005), brimming with affective intensities and capacities, as pride, defiance, ambition, honour and frustration flood through the words. The first time I met Alyazia after a class one day, she informed me that she would never work – *I just want to stay at home and have kids*. At this point, I was unaware that she was a well-known poet and assumed she wanted to concentrate her life around bringing up a family. When I learnt, from her interviews, about her professional success as a poet, this started me thinking in a different way about her life path, learning and self-formation. Graduation for Alyazia is possibly an insurance policy – research has shown that Emirati women perceive degree qualifications as divorce insurance (James and Shammas, 2018)– or she is taking a precautionary cue from her mother who was widowed with three young daughters. Whatever her rationale, in Alyazia I see a convergence of modes of thought: on the one hand, she is reproducer of culture through her professional *Nabati* poetry – as such she becomes enmeshed in the system of cultural preservation and regeneration; in her desires not to work and raise a family she becomes

enmeshed in the procreative strategies promoted by the national government. Yet, simultaneously, she is a critic of Dubai's cultural strategy comparing Dubai to Sharjah: *Sheikh Sultan [Ruler of Sharjah] he gave [poets] a chance and I want to do the same in Dubai, in Dubai, it's very poor, very weak.* In addition, she challenges the patriarchy of Emirati poetry by taking one of the (male) elders of Emirati poetry to court over a copyright issue in which he attributed one of her poems to himself. She won the case. Alyazia is an example of where neoliberal subjectivities are appropriated in unusual ways. Using the entrepreneurial exhortations of initiative/risk from *Vision2021* to protect her craft, she protects her version of cultural regeneration. In doing so, she promotes a culturally feminist response to patriarchal norms, breaking down the hegemonic social customs where women cannot/will not challenge men in public. Her ambition to establish a poetry centre is both entrepreneurial and culturally reproductive. Alyazia finds a way to combine multiple subjectivities in a way that both challenges and accedes to the heteropatriarchal and heteronormative Emirati social values.

6.3.3 Troubling the Heteronormative Subject

> Most ladies even if they are certified…they are thinking I will get my work, I will get married, get my kids and that's all…I don't think I have to do the same… *yanni*, you have to do something for your life, something that can support you to the end…maybe my marriage will not be success like the others
>
> This is our life Miss, you know, we got it from our culture…we **have to get married.** I am 29, this year I become 30… you know they see us, and something like they are shocked… I don't think this is it… just getting married and having kids… no I have to do something for my life, I have to get a job, the best job, or I have my own job, or business something that I can rely on …I am still shaping myself, I am still in this stage…
>
> Maitha Interview June 2017

Maitha troubles heteronormativity by rejecting traditional, cultural modes of thought, such as marriage, home-making and family-rearing that she witnesses in her peers. Her hopes and ambitions are actualised through individual material success. Maitha

embodies and exudes a strong internal perception of selfhood and is prepared to eschew conventional constitutions of womanhood. Significantly, Maitha is unconcerned about judgment; she is more concerned with/for herself. By positioning herself outside established life paths Maitha troubles the lines of ancestry and lineage that I argue constitutes a contravention of heteronormativity.

Maitha's position complements on the one hand the importance of self, work and ambition in the narratives of entrepreneurial Emirati women (Itani, Sidani and Baalbaki, 2011) but contrasts in the sense that these women's understandings of themselves are concerned with balancing life. Maitha, prioritising her own expectations of self and career, takes up opportunities to further her personal development, where other Emirati businesswomen struggle to find the time (ibid.). Maitha's decision to prioritise her career and education, without resorting to marriage is a brave move in Emirati society, as her comments make clear.

Maitha's case evidences the refraction of neoliberal feminisms (Banet-Weiser, Gill and Rottenberg, 2019) in unusual ways. Where neoliberal feminism gives women more opportunities these are reliant on individuals being able to take these up and become "responsible, productive, citizens", who 'have it all' (Slaughter, 2012). The neoliberal feminism of the UAE suggests it is possible to contribute to family/nation as well as careers/education. Maitha's decision seems both pragmatic – that is, she is well aware of its impossibility – and a transgression. She places her individual self and desires, above the procreative regeneration of nation.

Hind, Alyazia and Maitha, through their desires and their learning selves are all in various ways problematising the status quo, creating lines of flight away from the centre. I concur that these are not, in Al-Qasimi's terms, revolutionary desires, which transgress the hegemony but, in my observation of two decades of working with Emirati female students, it is by stealth that the status quo changes and these lines of flight have the potential to form new assemblages of possibility in years to come.

6.4 Learning as Relationality: Inside the College Campus

Figure 40. Photo-Elicitation Image (College 1)

6.4.1 The Site: Situating Socio-Spatial Boundaries

I have witnessed over two decades, the unfolding of subjectivities constituted through the daily everyday routines and social interactions on campus. The personal narratives elicited by photographs of DWC demonstrate the ways in which discursive social narratives combine with the psychological forming a flow of energies and embodied feelings in and through the educational space (Wetherell, 2015). They contribute to a sense of resistance to gendered patterns of social reproduction, but in some aspects, further embed, a sense of Otherness between Emiratis and non-Emiratis.

HEIs epitomize the policy of socio-spatial structuring that separate the Emirati community from the broader expatriate community and contribute to the manifestation of an exclusive and exclusionary national identity (Lori, 2013). Students spend four academic years in a fabricated setting in which non-citizens are constituted in opposition to Emirati citizens and Emiratiness takes on an engineered

homogeneity, (James, 2014c). Citizens and non-citizens are treated as separate entities both within the campus, and between the campus and the exterior. Campuses, classrooms and the student body are mono-national, mono-cultural and single gender and form an idealized educational space that reflects a cultural identity and demographic that does not exist beyond campus boundaries (James, 2014c). Symbolically and functionally, reproducing a lost demographic space, this recreation on campus preserves a historical-cultural entity much in the same way that museums are being deployed to simultaneously reinvent and conserve a nation's heritage (Erskine-Loftus, Hightower and Al-Mulla, 2016). These cultural enclaves create an illusory social environment culture which impacts Emirati subjectivity. Architecture and spatial design function as both physical and symbolic barriers between citizens and noncitizens. Spectacular, grandiose campus structures and the walled campuses make bold statements of inclusion and exclusion to confer status, entitlement and worth on a national elite (Jones, 2011). The outer walls and securitized gates demarcate the boundaries of social and spatial distance between citizen and noncitizen.

Like Alzeer's (2018b) interviewees, few comments elicited feelings, positive or negative on the physical environment of the campus. Rather, responses to photos of the college (for example Figure 40.) were overwhelmingly relational, the lived spatiality of participants emerged as flows and energies, interconnections of events, experiences, spaces and bodies (Grosz, 1994). Participants recall mixed feelings

> … I have lots of memories about the college, good and bad, mixed emotions…I love it because it changed me…and it's the one where I am learning for free and I hate it because …in the morning we have to go to work and then in the afternoon we have to go to college and I hate it because it's a must, it's a routine…but I love it more than I hate it…an education it's good
>
> Amalgamated Narrative Oasha/Maitha June 2016

As an educational space it was the relationships that mattered, those between friends, teachers and the institution and as such it emerged as 'a paradoxical space' (Quinn, 2003, p.454) as the above narrative demonstrates. Working through the different types of relationships emerging from the data uncovers the practices and

technologies of governmentality manifesting in this educational space relating to constructions of selfhood.

6.4.2 A Site of Infantalisation

6.4.2.1 Rules and Regulations

> the rules they changed…they make everything difficult for the students …you cannot do anything, we don't feel comfortable …sometimes even if you have reasons, it is not enough for college…they don't appreciate, they don't understand the student life…they all they think they just want to kick you out, to just want you to go…so you just have to do your best to stay…
>
> Maryam June 2017

Significant responsibility for defining the attributes of the "ideal" Emirati falls to the HE sector as the political rationalities of government oscillate between neoliberalism and legitimation, as implicated in *Vision2021*. Embodiment of such particularity includes control of the space of the body and the enforcement of cultural codes in campus spaces. On campus, students are expected to personify "Emiratiness" through their national dress and behavioural codes. This caused many students, not least my participants to rail against the rules.

Each participant throughout the interviews recalled an instance that demonstrated the often-strained relations between the institutional administration and the students. There were rules around class attendance; permissions to leave the campus; absences over health issues; and latterly a Code of Conduct that banned criticism of the college on social media. The rules that caused the most upset were those rules that encase the college as a gendered space with what the participants considered to be an out-dated regulatory framework. Historically strict rules for presence on campus were implemented to encourage more conservative, traditional families to allow their daughters to study (Bristol-Rhys, 2008). HCT administration assumes responsibility for students' well-being on campus and female students are only allowed to leave when their timetables have been completed for the day and when either, they drive home in their own cars, are collected or take a college bus home. A Green Card, allowing more flexibility is an option – this is applied for and the parents/husband of the participant is required to come to the college in person to sign a form. This

historical disciplinary regime remains in force and caused most offence to the students. Mouza stated simply that she wished they could be treated like adults. The infantalisation caused students to express their frustration and indignation, emotions that emerged intensely through the data alongside reluctant acquiescence.

It emerged as a particularly gendered issue. Although the attendance rules for classes were the same in the HCT men's colleges (except for the Green Card), it was a source of frustration for the participants that no accommodation was made for female specific issues around movement on and off the campus. Hind's frustration overcame her as she spoke of being compelled to ask her husband to come to the college to sign her green card application *"I've been working for six years and he has to sign for me!!"* before noting sombrely that was humiliating having to ask him for one and secondly having to come in with him to sign. For Reem, the mother of five, her experience and love of studying was tempered by fractious relations with the college

> … there are many things unfair, and many days we came with nothing to do except to just sign for attendance, no reason…so I feel I waste my time and the things that I hate…the long times of the classes in the college that's from 8 till 4… because as we are mums… we need some time because when we return home we have to study for the kids so there's no time for doing projects and the other thing… the attendance issues… I hate this because… my kids are linked with me… when I'm going and coming…

In these extracts, rather than needing to justify higher education as an extension of domesticity to their families (Moss, 2004), students were forced to justify domesticity as an extension to their educational needs. It was institutional processes and procedures that caused difficulties for these women, rather than families, and it was this type of obstacle that caused tensions between the institutions and students with family commitments by not taking into consideration aspects of the female lifecycle.

6.4.2.2 Gender Segregation

Traditional cultural preferences for gender segregation are played out in the spatial confines of campuses. Students generally welcome this, with some women particularly arguing that it allows them more freedom (Findlow, 2013; Alzeer, 2018c). However, attitudes are changing. Mouza described her awkwardness around men on her volunteering experience due to her lack of interactions with men and regretted

that she hadn't felt at ease. She mused – *so I think if schools were mixed but not everyone will agree, and we are evolving, now the private universities, they are all mixed and if you are working there are bound to be men.* The conversation continued

Me: So, do you think college should be mixed…

Mouza: Yes, because to be honest, it's decent, it's good, but we were mixed for a while and like I think there were some classes and I think there was a guy, called Haythem and at first it was awkward and then after a while it was fine…

Me: Yes, I taught some mixed classes and after a while it became normal

Mouza: So you know when you are you are more at ease with them, so when you shift to university you would be more at ease with them and you might want to study abroad and you should feel comfortable and you should teach the guys to respect the women and you teach the girls they should not do this around men and then everyone will be at ease…

The thrust of Mouza's ideas is to treat the students, both male and female students as adults allowing them to learn "appropriate" behaviours in mixed-gender settings. She relates this to the development or evolution of society, associating non-gendered spaces with modernity, a behaviour that reflects both temporal and spatial changes. Her views contrast with the notion that segregated campuses should be sites of cultural preservation rather that students should be educated for the workplace where daily interaction with Emirati men is the norm. The current situation embodies a paradoxical juxtaposition of subjectivities: the personhood of the culturally-minded, traditional Emirati at odds with the entrepreneurial, educated, globally-minded citizen (James, 2014c) that is promoted in the workplace.

6.4.3 A Site of Pedagogical Relationality

> College…happiness and misery... together…friends and teachers…I admire … do you remember a teacher called Sheila … she always encouraged me to be an archaeologist and it was so much pressure but I appreciate her effort … no-one who is an adult or a grown-up has spent that time on me…so she was really supportive ...it was really great…fond memories with photography, with Mr Daniels … video production, Bazaar days
>
> Mouza June 2016

This section considers the role of pedagogical relations within the college spatial ecosystem which mirrors the wider ways in which students learn about the wider world. Ellsworth suggests that the experience of the learning self is mediated by two systems – the pedagogical address, over which as pedagogues we have limited control as to where and how this is taken up – and the mind/brain/body – which when they 'meet and mingle…generate the potential to breach their own modes of constraint' (2005). She continues 'learning always takes place in relation, its detours take us up to and sometimes across the boundaries of habit, recognition and the socially constructed identities within ourselves' (ibid.). Using this lens, I consider participants' view of the educational experience within the physical confines of the college environment.

Within the learning space a desire and need for caring interrelations came through strongly

> Me: Do you feel supported by the community? As a woman, to work and follow your dreams
>
> Anood: Yes, of course…like and we start in DWC…free education and they encourage you…like my friend she wanted to leave and they talked to her…a lot and they want Emirati women to be successful and to be educated, they encourage us and they support us…

Participants mostly but not exclusively spoke fondly and positively of academic and support staff and recalled particular teachers who had made a difference to their lives.

> Lillian… I loved her so much … she helped me a lot to get back to college because I was supposed to have been kicked out of college and Lillian met me and said this is not a student who doesn't care, she asked me what was going on so I told her…she understood my situation and she gave me a chance, but she said next semester I want a good GPA so next semester I got a 2.4
>
> Alyazia June 2017

Alyazia's words echo the work of James and Shammas (2018) who argued that for this group of students teacher care was critical to pedagogical relations

> the most important [thing] in education is the person who is teaching you because you have to make them love the thing that they are teaching
>
> Alyazia June 2017

This need can be seen as the place where 'the internal imagination meets the external world of reality' (Dunne, 1999 cited in Ellsworth, 2005). In this context, through caring by design relationalities for future openings are introduced into subjectivities. When caring was deemed absent in the pedagogical relationship, it induced a strong reaction

> … some teachers, they are very abnormal. The first one that I hate is Ms Jadwa, she wants to treat us, maybe the way she was treated us before, maybe she left a very hard life and she wanted us to have the same, she was always challenging us to pass the course and not a good challenge…like a challenge of you will never pass this course, she's not the only one…
>
> Alyazia June 2017

It has been argued that some Emirati students consider attendance of a three-tiered state-funded educational path a right not a privilege, essentially a rite of passage rather than an opportunity for self-development and learning (Willoughby and Badry, 2017), an attitude which reflects a welfare mentality with an expectation of well-remunerated employment, preferably in the public sector (Nicks-McCaleb, 2005). In my data, I didn't identify entitlement as such. Maitha and Hind's effort over a decade, do not chime with these observations, neither Reem whose experiences describe how one exam – achievement of IELTS Band 6.5 – is preventing her from graduating

> … when I see it [the college] I want to cry, nearly five years or six and one exam is between me and my future and all of my training… it's all in the air
>
> Reem June 2017

What I identify here is a lack of understanding that the content of learning should be hard, alongside an identification of effort as equal to achievement. When Alyazia speaks of the educational challenge she equates it with a lack of care from the teacher, equally, Reem blames the colleges rules for not allowing her to pass and continue her career path. These incidents and unfoldings demonstrate to me, that an ethics of care, of reciprocity (Noddings, 2012) should be at the core of pedagogy that takes place against such a complex social background. In essence I call for a pedagogy which recognises the interrelational and unsettling affective flows of spaces, bodies, mediated environments and knowledges as all being an essential part of the pedagogical experience (Ellsworth, 2005), designed and treated as such.

6.4.4 A Site of Freedom and Friendship

The college campus is a place where subjective meaning-making occurred both alone and/or together with friends and classmates. Whilst for working students the campus represents a place to come for classes and then to leave, for non-working students, the campus was both a learning and social space.

> we had the library, I love the library, it was a huge thing for me when we had the library, but it's annoying the sleeping, the eating and the shouting in the library …there had to be someone who ruined it….
>
> Mouza June 2016

Mouza took her studies very seriously and the library was an important space of learning that required dedication, calm and determination. College provided a space in which she could be alone, without the need to justify herself. Her needs and desires were agitated when the library was taken up as a social space. Reem, returning to studies after having children also articulated the college as a haven for herself (despite the problematics of coming and going), as did Anood and Shamma, who used the time at/space of the campus to concentrate on their studies. As has been suggested, (Tamboukou, 1999; Quinn, 2003; Alzeer, 2017; Alzeer and Amin, 2020) the desire for personal space, either alone, or with a small group of friends is

a critical aspect in understanding education and becoming from a feminist perspective. In my research though, it was as a place of friendship that pervaded the data as a spatial dynamic.

> In the college, I go out with my friends, we go out for lunch and it's a special time for me…because you know girls gathering is different to family gathering…you can share everything…you can share your opinion and like for example [with your family] if you want to see a movie they don't allow you to choose the film you want …or if you do something in the cinema…by mistake…they will look at you and we won't complete the film…
>
> Oasha May 2016

> I love college because I go out with my friends and then return back for class and finish my study…*yanni*...you don't stay in college with nothing …you sit with friends, you hang around, eating … and outside. Yes, it's like free time, freedom when you go out with your friends…even when I go with my relatives I don't have freedom like go with friends…because you know my friends I spend a long day with them, they know me more than others
>
> Shamma/Zainab Amalgamated Narrative June 2016/2017

My data contributes to scholarly knowledge on the role of friendship groups amongst Emirati female students. Alzeer usefully has identified the notion of *'rebee'athood'* (2018a, p.1180), strong friendship groups, or a fraternal tribal sisterhood. Alzeer remarks on the ubiquity with which Emirati female students move in groups on campus, sit, eat, do sports and hangout together on campus and finds resonance in collective cultural sensibilities in accounting for this behaviour 'they are more often together than alone' (ibid., p.1181), and she suggests that their sheltered secluded upbringing accounts for the fact that 'togetherness gives them confidence, strength and a sense of security' (ibid.). I have often felt that Western researchers overplay the tribal, Bedouin background of Emiratis, particularly given that the vast majority of the population were already settled in coastal towns by the 1950s (Thesiger, 2007/1959; Heard-Bey, 2005). The words of Shamma, Oasha and Zainab above, are adding an extra, perhaps more critical layer to our understanding of *"rabee'athood",* telling us that with their friends, they can be themselves, they are not judged and they can share whatever secrets they like. They can mess up, they

are not beholden to others for their behaviour, in other words, being in a group with *rabee'at* gives them the space to be free and think freely. This links back to Chapter 4, where it was noted that gossip and judgement form an integral aspect of *Being Emirati*. The desire of Emirati women students to make close friendships, *rabee'at,* appears to be a way of mitigating the unpleasantry associated with being on the receiving end of gossip. This would also explain the urgency they feel to create or belong to '*rabee'athood*" when they first join the institution (Alzeer, 2018a). In other words, it is not their secluded upbringings that underpin their desires for togetherness, but a desire to be themselves without being judged for

> women's sense of alienation from the everyday space of their lives is related to a fear of always being watched and evaluated…this threat of being the object of the other's gaze is of critical importance in the objectification of the female self (Rose, 1993 cited in Tamboukou, 1999).

This, I suggest becomes particularly pertinent in a space – the college campus – that is not always their own, due to the requirements of conformity with college rules. Appropriation of spaces within the campus for *"rabee'athoods"* (Alzeer, 2017; Alzeer, 2018b) becomes a form of resistance, of taking and making a place where judgements are not made.

Alzeer (2018a) has articulated Emirati women students are often to be found in groups but since her research was done between 2012-3, I have observed a tendency for greater numbers of students to be found alone in spaces on campus, both in 'cocoons' (Alzeer, 2017) but also in public areas and I argue, that the group mentality is subtly changing as are other spatial practices within the campus confines as Alzeer (2018a) also suggests, such as a reduced tendency to sit on the floor in public places. Indeed, in 2017, 70% of students had Green Cards that allow them to move on and off campus when their classes have finished (personal interview, College Administrator). Oasha, Shamma and Zainab all refer to leaving the campus, to spend time with *"rabee'at"* off the campus. The campus for these women, is not a preferred place, but a space of confinement (Tamboukou, 1999) in which 'resisting space restrictions is associated to a strong will to move, to depart, to cross imposed spatial boundaries, both real and metaphorical' (ibid. p.128). This, then

speaks to Quinn (2003) and Alzeer's (2018a) findings that spaces of education as they relate to female students are fluid and ever-changing spaces that reflect changes of the social world beyond campus boundaries. As such, these findings contribute to our knowledge of the ways in which spatial practices are intricately linked to subjectivity (Probyn, 2003).

6.5 Envisaging the Learning Self: Learning through/from Women

> So, I was raised by my mother and my grandmother so there wasn't much male influence in my life except my uncle…was like visiting once a week or at Eid time, so the household was only like the maids and the driver…
>
> Mouza June 2016

Of my ten participants four lived in households whose fathers had died. In another household, the father only made an occasional appearance. For a society frequently portrayed as patriarchal, this raises questions. How did the women of these households help and support each other? Were the younger women more or less restricted? Did male relatives take over the role of family patriarch as in Oasha's experience? Or were women left to make their own life decisions? Given that so much has been written about continuing patriarchal patterns of male domination (Itani, Sidani and Baalbaki, 2011; Williams, Wallis and Williams, 2013; Kemp and Madichie, 2013; Kemp and Zhao, 2016) – undoubtedly there are instances where men dominate Emirati women's lives – I use this section of the thesis to consider a counterpoint to commonly held understandings of patriarchy. I explore the relationality between Emirati women and how this contributes to subjective meaning-making, their lived experience and the impact on the Learning Selves of women. The imperatives of friendship/*"rabee'athood"* have already been discussed within the spaces of the campus and beyond. Here I continue to develop ideas around the impact of female role models from within private domestic spaces, public workplaces and the intermediate virtual space of social media. These ideas continue to bring understanding to the matrices of social relations through the assemblage of affective-discursive practices of authoritarian neoliberalism and the loyal/productive/traditional-modern conception of an idealised Emirati subject. In

particular I deploy post-structural conceptions of the productive capacity of relations of power.

An analysis of contemporary women's learning and education requires an understanding of the specific historical educational context over the past fifty years (Davidson and Mackenzie-Smith, 2008; Burden ‐ Leahy, 2009; Rutledge, 2011). Participants' expectations in terms of education and employment have been shaped by the massification and high take up of HE, particularly over the past two decades (Findlow, 2013). From the home to the workplace and in the media, the productive capacity of other women to transform the participants' agency and ambitions, emerged as a strong thread through the data. This chapter section then, considers these three spaces and explores the intersection of participants' lived experiences learning selves.

6.5.1 Learning within the Household

> Nowadays, until now, my mother has a strong attitude and err...she…. when she says no, it should be no… Like err…something is happened in her life…she was weak, in the past and that it learned her to be strong… Err… the second members in my family is my sisters...I have two sisters…they …my most time with them…outside like shopping, like hanging round, like go eating in the restaurant and try new things
>
> Zainab June 2016

Mothers, as well as sisters, emerge through a distinctive framing discourse as playing a particular role in relation to learning. They appear as counter role models, role models and anti-role models. The mother/daughter stories demonstrate how the mass entry of women into higher education in the UAE have changed notions of what being an Emirati women means (Quinn, 2004) and how this reality is constructed in the Emirati public imagination.

The mothers of Oasha, Maitha and Mouza were all illiterate and their educational experiences extremely limited and thus they had minimal engagement with their daughters' learning experiences. The participants were not ashamed of their mothers, but they perceived a distinct difference in ways of thinking, the intergenerational gulf was obvious in their voices. In expressing their desire for learning (and in these three

particular cases, a distinct desire for knowledge) they iterated the need to excel. All three participants were determined in their motivation to exceed where their mothers had not had the chance. Where Oasha and Mouza lamented and leveraged their mothers' historical exclusion from education as reasons to not be complacent about their own privileges (2004), Maitha's emotions evidenced both anger and regret at her parents', especially her mother's laissez-faire attitude towards education

> Ah Miss, you know…I think my family didn't support me…I don't think…that they see education as something important …my father wasn't telling me… and my mother was telling me...it's up to you…if you like to go, go, if you don't, don't … my Mum …she don't want anybody to push themselves for something if they don't want
>
> Maitha June 2017

In ways that recollect Quinn's (2004) research on mothers and learners, thinking back through her mother's experience, Maitha attempts to dissociate herself from her mother's failure to initiate her, or at least encourage her, to take up education. Her frustration is apparent, she feels that because her mother didn't push her, she has needed to undertake simultaneous study and work, a decade of struggle and hardship. There is blame here, and Maitha's desire to succeed through learning and to resist heteronormative pathways, can be witnessed as a tool of resistance which impels her forward on her educative journey (ibid.).

Anood's experience is very much of the generation I experienced when I first worked at DWC. Her mother was that student who was studying but who, in Anood's words – *decided to stop because she said I want to spend my life with you…and to be a good mum and to focus to be a good mum.* This is a motivating force, as Anood now gives back to her mother completing what her mother was unable to. In gratitude, Anood pushes herself forward to achieve what her mother sacrificed for her, evidencing the interlacing of mothers and learning in learning selves of my participants.

Mother of	Marital Status	Professional Area	Education	Career Details	Current Situation
Hind	Married	Education	School/College	In first batch of Emirati secondary school Science teachers in Dubai (physics/chemistry/biology)	Library Teacher
Alyazia	Widowed	Banking	NA	Overall Manager of all the Retail Banks of her company	Retired due to breast cancer
Maryam	Married – mostly absent husband	Media	Graduate UAE University	Journalist at UAE Newspaper: 20 years & magazine features writer on Emirati culture and heritage	Editor in Chief: cultural magazine Writer and Reporter

Table 4. Participant's Working Mothers

Hind, Alyazia and Maryam have mothers who were pioneers in terms of the achievements of Emirati women (Table 4). These women were well-educated and had experienced life before notions of a national identity/nationhood had congealed in their current form and before contemporary neoliberal discourses espousing productivity, the knowledge society and lifelong learning became ubiquitous. The narratives of these three participants glowed with pride regarding their mothers' achievements – *we didn't have a house, we were living with my grandmother, and this house my mother paid to buy it, 3 million dirhams in 2002 or 2003 (Alyazia).* They keenly portrayed them as pioneers, as examples of the potential of Emirati women using superlative language to describe their mother's achievements: *a very high position* (Alyazia), *the first of the first* (Hind) and *chief of the magazine* (Maryam). My interpretation of these narratives, is that each participant derived an understanding of the strength, stamina and endurance required by their mothers. From this, they derive their own strengths. Alyazia's independent path has been recounted and Hind, though not a pioneer in career terms, certainly lives according to her own desires. However, for Maryam, her mother's success came with a personal cost

Maryam: Err…sometimes…she's not my role model but she inspiring for the other people…
Me: Oh ok …
Maryam: She wants all the time work, work, and she's given more in the work than the home
Me: Has she always been like that?
Maryam: Yes
Me: How did you find that?

Maryam: now I can't say it's a bad thing…because now I'm twenty years old, she's was like that when I was born …her time was always for work, so I didn't be with her all the time when I was small, so this is the bad thing, but now…no …it's better for her to work…my brothers they all married, they all go out of the home, so what will she do? Stay in the home? No…she should work…but it was bad when I was small…

Maryam confirmed to me that she was not close to her mother. Her vignette speaks to the difficult decisions that working women have to make. A prism of neoliberal feminism, would say the means were available for Maryam's mother to further her career by outsourcing domestic labour. A prism of cultural reproduction would say that Maryam's mother made considerable contributions to the preservation of Emirati culture. However, to analyse through her daughter's eyes there is regret, hurt and detachment. For Maryam, her mother is the anti-role model.

These synopses of the mother/daughter relationships confirm Quinn's contention that 'the mother passes on strong messages about learning and knowledge which the daughter understands and feels and which may have a deep and pervasive influence' (2004, p.377). As with Quinn's own findings, these can be problematic, and yet all who spoke about their mothers, regardless of difficulties, their mothers were imprinted on participants' sense of learning selves in ways that emboldened and strengthened their resolve to '*have something for themselves*'.

6.5.2 Learning in Spaces of Work

Emirati women were shown in the film with no important roles for example, Fatima she was present in film as an Emirati woman who is caring about her grandmother with not doing a thing in life like working or going out with her friends which is a negative stereotype in my opinion.

City of Life was negative because people who watch the movie and did not visit Dubai before will think all Emirati ladies are hidden and have no role - all Emirati ladies are lifeless and have no role.

Oasha (above) & Anood (below) City of Life Reflection June 2016

Participants' indignation evidences their understanding of what being an Emirati woman means, which as alluded to, includes *'having or doing something'* with their lives, employment, a business and achievement outside the home. Interviews also shed light on how conscious of the way that outsiders make judgments and stereotype Emirati women (McClusky, 2017) and their wish to challenge these generalisations. Nevertheless, it is also Emiratis who stereotype each other, particularly when it comes to lack of support when working under an Emirati female manager. I had heard this anecdotally many times in the classroom, but Hind's reference to this offered a different perspective

> I was thinking about this stereotype…we say that if you are working under a woman you don't get the full respect that you need…but I don't know if it is right or not…once my manager was a woman but she was an amazing woman, I wish she stayed with us to complete our project…like I went through 5 managers and all of them stay and go, and only one of them she was an amazing manager…I never had a woman manager except that woman and all the managers I have had are men and they have all been horrible managers…they give you rules not in their authority, they will not give you an excuse even if it's valid, where the lady manager, she understood us and there was no barrier between us…you can never explain to the man because he just won't understand us, and they just say are you pregnant so that we can decide which department to put you in and what job we can give you and they ask you questions which you can't answer yourself because it's private
>
> Hind Interview June 2016

The attitude Hind describes chimes more with the literature based on working Emirati women describing a significant amount of support between female employees and managers. This relates to the type of friendship groups discussed in the workplace (Itani, Sidani and Baalbaki, 2011; Harold, 2011) and in educational settings (Alzeer, 2018c; Alzeer, 2018b). My examination of these contrasting perspectives leads me to grapple with the notion that where many Emirati women in leadership positions may well feel supported by other women, that there are others who, when situated in workplaces dominated by male leadership suffer from discriminatory practices and as such, may take on more masculine attributes (Sidani, 2005; Al‐Lamky, 2007; Omair, 2008; Omair, 2010; Tlaiss, 2014). Hind is advocating a more feminist politics in the workplace for working women that makes allowances

for the extra pressures subsumed by women through the interplay of caring obligations and family life. Indeed, as with the rest of the world

> it is still women who bear the brunt of caring responsibilities, despite the increasing involvement of men in some cultures and contexts. In addressing deep-seated societal and organizational challenges, the influence of men in promoting gender equality is a critical factor. Gender equality issues affect everyone and require collaboration and the support of men and women (Haynes, Flynn and Kilgour, 2016 , p.201).

As witnessed throughout the narratives, Hind's desires, as an indebted subject (Al-Qasimi, 2020) oscillate between procreation and responsibilisation in neoliberal terms. From Hind's experience with her managers at work we can see an ironic juxtaposition around the affective sphere promoted by hegemonic discourses: it is only by breaking down heteropatriarchal structures in the workplace that the heteronormative procreative capacities of women can be fulfilled to the maximum, for it is currently only Emirati women, that truly understand Emirati women. Hind more than anyone, is aware of this.

6.5.3 Learning from the Public Sphere

> So I took from Instagram…and the first picture is Reem Al Hashemi…she's a minister I really feel proud of her, she represents my country and my city and when she was presenting for the EXPO and all the countries were attending this conference and it was really nice to see her on the TV, so people when they see her, they see the UAE and they see her in this position and they see how she is holding the responsibility, even it's a yes or not, success or not, so I was really feeling grateful for our government.. I think mostly they gave the notion or the project of the thing is important, but the way of delivery of the project she did so well …and she really represented her country with her hijab and abaya and showed that we are a globalized country, but we …you know this is us, but we are still following our traditions
>
> Anood June 2016 Interview
>
> (response to Figure 41.)

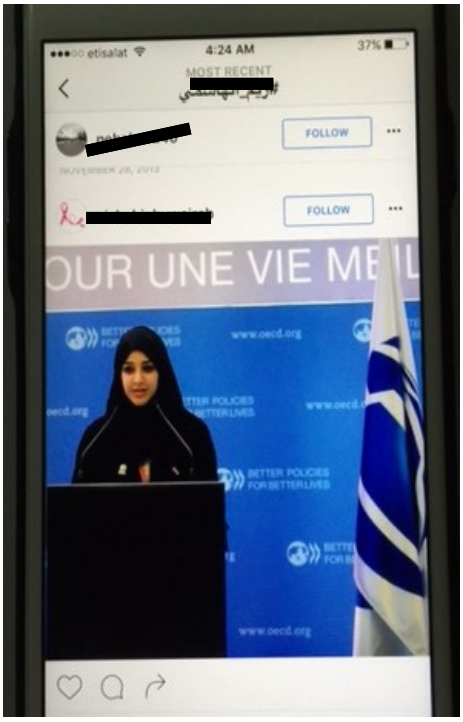


Figure 41. Social Media Image: Reem Al Hashemi (Anood - Instagram)

> Without doing anything, just open yesterday's news…I think she's in Moscow, the embassy, the ambassador to Moscow she was there and regarding the Ramadan issue and she went to so many mosques over there…and she was there alone and she was a UAE National lady and the ambassador of Spain…she is a UAE national lady…
>
> Hind June 2016 Interview

In the UAE, an authoritarian state with a self-censoring media (Haque and Biju, 2013), women's empowerment is relayed through multiple media channels, radio, newspapers, online and through social media (Carvalho Pinto, 2019). As I have suggested in Chapter 2, my interest in this thesis is the normal, everyday woman and I noted my scepticism around the projection of extraordinary women in the public sphere. However, I was surprised to find that these images of important and extraordinary women in the public sphere were significant to my participants.

I had asked them to bring images that represented their city; a few chose images of Reem Al Hashemi (Figure 41) - a minister of state who had successfully bid to hold the EXPO 2020 in the UAE. Her prominence on public channels at the time of my interviews fed into the consciousness of the participants, Pride and joy flowed through Anood's words as she showed me the picture. Energies and intensities of

culture, practices, policies and traditions converged in her narrative expressing the linkage between the wider public realm and personal affective feelings. Anood felt that Reem Al Hashemi represented her. Her sentiments were echoed by others – Mouza remarked on the female Cabinet and parliament members and Hind lauded the appointment of female diplomatic ambassadors

Witnessing images of Emirati women in the media and in virtual spaces, women who were not from the ruling families yet representing their nation on the international scene has a powerful impact. Their function as role models differs to how workplace role models might mentor learning and model behaviours and attitudes (Abdalla, 2015). Rather prominent Emirati women allow everyday Emirati women to visual their own selves in alternative ways. The success of these women has been embodied by younger women and can be seen as a powerful lever of change, promoting and redefining the identity of Emirati women (Kirdar, 2007). Spaces of the media are used to implement discourses of women's empowerment. In this sense, there is again internalised indebtedness to the state and to ruling families for "allowing" or gifting them the opportunity as women. However, the materialisation of success and potential that is demonstrated by female role models is indicative that women are distinctly not complacent about their positions and roles. With the full backing of the state, that is then embodied as pride and accomplishment by their (extended) families and by extension, the nation, Emirati women are rapidly exceeding expectations in ways that their grandmothers may not have been able to conceptualise.

6.6 Tracings and Lines of Flight

I am aware, from my participants own voices, that those I spoke to give only a partial story

> the UAE families are divided two ways, like there are the families who think that the ladies should marry and have kids and sit at home…and some of them are really supportive….so you can say it's fifty-fifty
>
> Anood Interview June 2016

> But there are other girls that they don't let them drive, they don't let them out with friends, too much strict…so I am lucky, because also I have four brothers who are not in the home
>
> Maryam Interview June 2017

The majority of my participants, even Oasha, had the opportunity, if somewhat curtailed, of driving. Furthermore, and supporting the literature stating that familial attitudes have significantly shifted (Marmenout and Lirio, 2013), it was only Reem mentioned familial discouragement towards work. I acknowledge that there are many Emirati women students who do not have these opportunities but thankfully, that these numbers appear to be reducing (personal interview, College Counsellor). As a means of ending this chapter, I respond to Al-Qasimi (2020) and attend to tracings, desires and lines of flight amongst Emirati female students weaving together spatiality, subjectivity and learning.

6.6.1 Relenting

> In the beginning my dream was to be a pilot. I went to Emirates Flight - I saw their advertisement about be a pilot. I love it…but my brother was disappointed in me - you are not fit, you are not good, your Math is bad. However, my Maths is very good and he forced me to study this field which is Medical Imaging
>
> Oasha May 2016

Oasha's experience of having her choice of career quashed before she started applying fits a pattern described in the literature of male relatives still having a significant influence on sisters, daughters and wives' education and career paths (Williams, Wallis and Williams, 2013; Samier, 2015; Kemp and Zhao, 2016). An example of entrenched residual patriarchal attitudes continuing to blight and regulate young Emirati women's lives, Oasha's account did not surprise me. However, after everything Alyazia had told me about her mother's career and her pride in her mother's fortitude her recount of her lost opportunity for study abroad did come as a shock

> When I finished [school] I asked my mother to send me to London and I had a chance from the country, a scholarship, and I wanted to study scientific psychology and I found a university, Plymouth and she said ok and signed all the papers and one week before travelling she changed her mind! Why? Because of these two girls, they said, she will mess around, she will do bad things and then when she comes back no one will marry her! They played with her mind. She told me you have two options…you go to Plymouth and no one will marry you or you stay here and get married, so of course I told her I would stay here and have a normal life

> and the only chance was the HCT… I said ok, but I didn't want to go to this college so when I did the entrance exam I tried to get an F
>
> Alyazia June 2017

Again here, is evidence of the pressures on Emirati women to conform to social norms in light of gossip and societal critique. Alyazia laughed about it as she told the story over a Haagen-Daas coffee, but the experience still rankled. Presented with impossible binary options as a nineteen-year-old just out of school, it was unthinkable that Alyazia could have agreed not to get married given the central role of the institution of marriage in Emirati society (Bristol-Rhys, 2007). Four years later, a successful poet and on the verge of marriage, Alyazia had accepted her fate and her mother's decision but there was an element of regret in her voice that suggested she resented the way that her mother's decision had been made because of other women's gossip and speculation over her potential behaviour.

Oasha was affected more seriously. Her brother's harsh words had been engraved on her psyche and rocked her confidence, the more so because of her deep affection for him. As she spoke, her voice quavered with anger and shame at her own inability to fight back or challenge him. She is not alone, but of my group of participants was the one who had suffered the most from restraints on her freedom and choices. In a later paired interview with Hind, Oasha mentioned how she hoped to work in Abu Dhabi but that her family would not agree. Hind encouraged here with the words: *You can change it…for sure you can change it…*before giving an example of how her own parents had changed and now allowed her sister to work in Abu Dhabi. These examples demonstrate the patchiness of change and the way it is particularly linked to individual families adopting a change in attitude (Wang and Kassam, 2016).

There are also instances where it was hard to tell whether occupational choices were being driven by cultural or familial values, or by personal choice. One such is example is that of nightshifts. Both Anood and Oasha, as Medical Imaging graduates would have been required to work nightshifts if they had wanted to take up positions in hospitals. Neither of them is prepared to do this. The data is unclear on the reasonings but research on career choices has mentioned the requirements of working anti-

social hours to be a deterrent to Emirati women (Marmenout and Lirio, 2013). The literature details a confluence of reasoning around working nights that includes family pressure and the inability to arrange family commitments despite having plentiful household support. The other potential reason could be that nightshifts are just not pleasant and that feelings of entitlement seep into their thinking around careers. As Emiratis, the participants are aware that there are plentiful other career options that would not mark them out for judgment and which do not require such discomfort and stress (Jones, 2019).

6.6.2 Resisting

Mouza is one participant who displays resistance to the gendered cultural discourses around women's decision making. With fervour she recalls

> I often remember when my uncle asked me what you are studying and I said media and he said media communication? Why are you studying media? And I am thinking what should I study then? Why are you making decisions about what I should study? Like it's not your business…my advice, do whatever you want? If you want to work there, work there…it's all about you, it's not about anyone else…sorry if I am repeating it, but it's just I want to make that point
>
> Mouza Interview May 2016

Mouza speaks to the increasing individualisation of society as noted in Wang and Kassem's (2016) survey on changing attitudes. Gendered stereotypes are being challenged by the younger generation and notably, change is being accepted by younger Emirati men (Engin and McKeown, 2016). Mouza's refusal to allow herself to be dominated or dictated to by older male relatives is indicative of changing times demonstrating as educators the need to be aware of ways in which Emirati women are carving out roles for themselves. Nevertheless, each situation has its own context and it would be careless to generalise. Each story and incident evidenced in this thesis adds a unique take on our partial understanding of the ways in which Emirati women are making sense of novel opportunities.

6.6.3 Transgressing

Resistance to societal norms comes in different forms. Reem's narrative is one of choices she made that have impacted her life significantly. Her drawn biography is shown in Figure 42. In her first interview with me, before we started recording, she informed me that she was taking part in my project because she wanted to tell her story

> I love to study …I wanted to continue [but] I faced some problems some challenge with my husband because he didn't get that idea… because he thought that it will take my time … even his mother-in-law was saying you know they have that old mind of thinking …the house for the woman …she should stay at home and take care of the husband
>
> So, what happened... my husband got married with another woman (laughs) … and what his bad excuse… because I spend my time in the college because I'm studying and I'm taking care of the kids so his bad excuse is that you spend your time with your kids and you study so he did that. That's the reason that they put always… and that's the reason why most of the women they stop their studies or withdraw their job or something… or sometimes they say if you stay in this job I will have to find another one who is free for me…(laughs) … it is a common thing that happens now
>
> He blames me that I don't give them [the kids] the time that I should … but I say this is wrong because he has to share with me the time because they're also his kids
>
> All things happened because it's all about our culture… We always blame the woman …*yanni* … which here makes us feel, make her to feel guilty and I think our society it's manhood…. because they always say I am the man I can decide
>
> Yes, I decided. I decided to have my freedom… I don't want to be under his painful and hurt… okay you choose your life and I can choose my life… with my kids … that's it that's all…

Figure 42. Life History Drawing - Reem

Despite being unable to get the support of either her own parents or her in-laws, Reem refused to stop studying and returned to college after the birth of her third child. In this situation Reem changes the way that power relations operate within the matrix of her marriage and immediate family. In her defiance of her families' wishes she engages her own practice of resistance, engaging with power/knowledge (English, 2012). In her refusal to continue as a housewife, customary power relations shift but Reem is met with by her husbands' deployment of a traditional relational move, that of taking a new wife. As Reem grapples with her emotional response to events beyond her control, she asks her husband for a divorce. It was a year until I next met Reem after the first two interviews; in that time, she had come to terms with her status as a divorced woman after protracted court cases and was reconstituting herself as a knowing subject (ibid.). She had undertaken therapy sessions, her demeanour had changed, she stood proud, tall and confident. She spoke to me about the places she frequented where she could be herself – malls, cafes and beaches mostly patronized by expatriates. Reem's case stands in contrast to divorce experiences described by Bromfield (2014) although she felt emotional pain, she did not feel or express shame. Her regrets were for her children. Reem's actions reject the discourse of the "modern traditional Emirati ideal woman" rather, she sacrifices for herself.

6.6.4 Imaginings

Using a public pedagogy methodology, this thesis has been able to access aspects of the learning selves of Emirati women students furthering understanding of the challenges and opportunities that they face. In summarising the chapter, it is clear that HE has moulded the lives of all participants. For some, HE has brought only tenuous gains, for others, significant and life-changing gains. Al-Qasimi's urging of *revolutionary* desire has not been seen in the learning (re)actions of my participants and I question whether, these would indeed help or hinder Emirati women students find themselves. In Oasha and Alyazia's acquiescence to heteropatriarchal/heteronormative norms under an objectifying societal gaze, change will be witnessed in the ways that they behave with their own children. In Mouza, her resistance will emerge in force, when she begins work. What place will she carve out for herself? How will her openness to future becomings unfold? The

intensities and capacities she has articulated with such force through our interviews will be tested in the wider world outside of education. Reem, where, we ask, will her life take her? How will her refusal to comply or to submit to her husband and in-laws' exhortations to give up education impact her future life? Having demonstrated internal strength through her transgression in a line of flight towards a different future, how will the world and her society enfold her?

7 Conclusion

7.1 Contemporary Public Pedagogies

In 2020, 'the world, not the school, has been the site of teaching' (Pinar, 2010, p.xv). From climate change activism, elections, Black Lives Matters and the COVID-19 pandemic, public pedagogies have never appeared more prevalent (Dentico, 2020; Williamson, Eynon and Potter, 2020). Further to this, Greta Thunberg's damning chastisements of the establishment (Thunberg, 2020), the murder of George Floyd (Hill *et al.*, 2020) and the pulling down of the Edward Colston statue in Bristol (Wall, 2020), demonstrate the intensities of emotion and affect at an individual and a collective level in bringing social justice to the world through assemblages of post-digital technologies (Fullagar, Rich and Francombe-Webb, 2017). As such the work demonstrated in this thesis, takes on additional resonance, having used for the first time in the UAE academic context a public pedagogy approach that has explicitly focused on affective pedagogies of the everyday (Burdick and Sandlin, 2015).

At the nexus of public pedagogy and (Arab)CS, this thesis has interrogated concepts of women's subjectivity and representation through the intersection of lived experience and the normalizing affective-discursive constructions and practices. These have been patterned and shaped by the unique cultural context of a global worlding city (Haines, 2011), Dubai, and contemporary forms of Emirati national identity predicated on complex and often contradictory philosophies of authoritarian neoliberalism and cultural preservation. To garner a true(r) understanding of Emirati women students' subjectivities I chose to deploy a feminist poststructural approach premised upon notions of difference and made a particular claim to eschew constructs of race, class, ethnicity, gender or culture. Rather, my focus drew from the affective possibilities of the quotidian, of the micro-politics of life and the self, and a Foucauldian-inspired exploration based on an ascending analysis (Ettlinger, 2011). This acknowledges the significance of everyday spaces as determiners of one's physical and symbolic social contexts and notes that we are largely unaware of their wielding effects and ability to mediate aspects of our urban cityscapes and contemporary lifestyles (Hickey, 2010). Everyday spaces allow entry into collective,

contemporary culture, in ways that seem ordinary (ibid.) but which are in fact able to elucidate society at multi-scalar levels.

Notions of the learning self and an inclusive public pedagogy of learning via media and architecture (Ellsworth, 2005) guided my research trajectory which was articulated and operationalized through an original deployment of visual methodologies that engaged with the materiality of the everyday (Francombe, 2011). Throughout the data collection, I advanced and extracted Dubai as an im/material entity through visual aesthetics, photographs, films, maps and drawings to elicit affective and emotive responses from participants. Dubai became a site of learning, and as such furthered understandings of the relationships between Emirati women students, the state and the cultural Other in ways that have not been addressed until now. This study has demonstrated the cogency of such methodological strategies to reveal the power of the ordinary in evincing the link between the political and structural and the affective and emotional; in particular it has shown how to reach the political and structural in an ethically supportive manner without putting participants in positions of discomfort.

Such methods brought me, the researcher into the interstitial political space between the cultural context and the self-construction of subjectivities. They facilitated the possibilities of capturing a critical dialogue between the participants, the political and the everyday that surfaced self-creating citizens at the convergence of neoliberal feminisms (Prügl, 2014), state-supported gender empowerment (Krause, 2012) and cultural preservation and regeneration (Al-Qasimi, 2020). What emerged was not a syncretic inhabitation of modern and traditional to create the "ideal-modern-traditional-Emirati-woman" (Mazawi, 2007) but a complex and often contradictory set of self-imaginings bordered with a sense of exceptionalism that is classed, raced and gendered in relation to the cultural Other. Privileging a feminist methodology of affect (Åhäll, 2018) in their understandings and interrogations of Dubai's cityscape, neighbourhoods and community spaces the study has revealed how a (cultural) politics of emotion (Ahmed, 2004) serves both to sediment and explode intimate desires of the self and aversion and ignorance of the other. These are both openings and closings

7.2 Encounters of Precarity and Privilege: Answering (to) the Research Questions

In relation to Emirati women students who live, study and work in Dubai:
1. In what ways do spatial practices and spatial technologies shed light on everyday life a neoliberal multi-cultural city? 2. How are normative expectations of women's gendered lives lived out in the city? 3. How does Dubai as an emotional/spatial/cultural site impact the construction of the self?

Table 5. Guiding Research Questions 1-3

My intention in this research was not to ask *what* was happening in terms of Emirati women students' lives, this has been covered by a raft of scholarly outputs concerned with state-society relationships (Beaugrand, 2019; Ennis, 2019; Jones, 2017; Herb and Lynch, 2019). My study empirically addresses the *how* and the *why,* and theorises out by following the guiding research questions (Table 5.) to further understanding of subjectivity construction of Emirati women students living, studying and working in Dubai. I was acutely aware of the need to address the reach of authoritarian neoliberal ideological discourses being promulgated in Dubai and to be able to consider how these were impacting the knowledge and identity formations of these students and to attempt to attest to the ways in which these are interacting with the cultural vestiges of a conservative Islamic society and in a city dominated by a cultural Other. The answers to the questions (1-3) appeared as encounters of privilege and precarity. Spatial technologies, in terms of construction and urban planning regimes, forced particular spatial practices which give rise to nodes of Emiratiness. Such segregation creates cities within cities, a political strategy of cultural preservation in response to the both perceived/real cultural threat and as a biopolitical urban strategy to shield and mitigate Emirati citizens from the demographic imbalance. This materialises in Emirati-only residential neighbourhoods, colleges, universities and

public sector workplaces in which the participants spend the majority of their time. Entering the (bio)political realm of Emirati-majority spaces, my research reveals that discourses of neoliberal responsibilisation and lifelong learning are being embodied, as culturally appropriate forms of feminism, by Emirati women students as self-actualising subjectivities and agentic ambitions. These are driven and supported by government-backed gender empowerment strategies (encapsulated in *Vision2021*) which are now eclipsing the social and cultural reticence for women to work, that I encountered in my first years in the city. In this respect then, the state facilitates and encourages Emirati women to become actors on the neoliberal stage and who like Francombe's girls are 'incited to embody a …subjectivity that is understandable in its quest for self-fulfilment, self-conduct, self-monitoring and investment in the "self" '(2011, p.254). In this respect, in the development of autonomous modes of living my participants are privileged to have state support, much of it coming through the pedagogical address of the media/social media (Ellsworth, 2005). More significant though, are the affective responses to the engendering of this autonomy. All participants responded to this call of self-sufficiency with productive desire. Where, in Al-Qasimi's terms these are heteronormative, heteropatriarchal tracings, I argue we should not be so quick to judge. The privilege of Emirati women students is moderated by precarity, and not only the precarity of the discourse of cultural threat and the necessity for regeneration/procreation but the precarity of being a woman in Emirati society. Throughout the thesis, examples of the complexities of gendered subjectivities *within* these nodes of Emiratiness also emerged. Being a woman requires constant self-monitoring of a different kind to the neoliberal ideological self-investment; under the gaze of panoptical surveillant eyes, is a requirement, an obligation to self-moderate at all times. Underpinned by the honour/shame dynamic, this aspect of Emirati women students' lives is fraught with fragility – fear of gossip and defamation is ever-present, thus allaying the "delights" of absolute autonomy – and therefore dampening the extent of freedoms gained. Indeed, a significant contribution to our understanding of Emirati female students is the emergence in the participant narratives of embodied effects of frustration, irritation, marginalisation, and disempowerment/injustice that create a contradictory and not always coherent sense of self that sits alongside the desires of success and ambition. Thus, gendered subjectivities are constantly in a state of flux, reconstituting and reworking to reflect

a new cultural aegis and not a singular social construction of an ideal-modern-traditional Emirati woman.

Theorising out from the data, this thesis has revealed the salience of a cultural politics of emotion and affect, as an aspect of an (Arab)CS approach, and makes various contributions to our comprehension of the Emirati women students and their relationship with the multi-cultural nature of Dubai. This study has shown the ways in which a cultural politics of emotion connects power relations of people, with and between social groups and how emotions are sites in which resides the power to name, differentiate and legitimate objects and events through dominant discourses (Shi, 2017). As such, the data analysis has revealed that emotions align with social hierarchies and circulate meanings to negotiate, constitute and contest social relations and identities (ibid.) weaving a collective emotional fabric that encases Emirati women students with affects. These include fear, disgust, resentment, contempt and shame in relation to, in particular the male cultural Other. As an original and unique methodology in this research setting, this thesis has thus demonstrated the salience of an approach that considers emotions as relational (Ahmed, 2004; Wetherell, 2015) and embodied (Davidson and Bondi, 2004; Davidson and Milligan, 2004; Probyn, 1991; Young, 2002) in the bringing together of the quotidian with the political and structural. As such, through this interrogation of multi-cultural spaces, it is here that the precarity engendered by cultural threat of an over-powering demographic imbalance and the privilege of exclusivity and wealth intersect. Corporeal fear and disgust are operationalised to deepen the physical separation between Emiratis and the cultural Other and to maintain ethnocratic segregation. However, adhering with the notion of spatial separation a cultural politics of affect begins in the domestic environment and it is here that this study has illuminated how and why complex and contradictory subjectivities emerge that vacillate between, for example, gratitude/love/affection and control/disdain/abjection in regards the cultural Other.

On the other hand, the coherence of a gendered subjectivity was found in the spaces and places of friendship *(rebeea'thood)* and the lived experiences of learning from and through women. Dubai, as an im/material site, spectacular/globalised/multi-cultural

and/or fragmented/hierarchised/classed/gendered, backdrops the visualisation of learning selves. Pride in the city's achievements solidifies Emirati women students sense of self as they both find refuge in the city and flee the city to make spaces and places of their own. In the presence of women like themselves, sisters, cousins and friends, spaces emerge for Emirati women students to visualise, create and actualise their learning selves. This thesis has shown how and where these connections and materialisations of learning selves has been able to happen.

7.3 Moving Forward: Pedagogies – Affective or Otherwise

In relation to Emirati women students who live, study and work in Dubai: 4. How can educators use this knowledge to improve their pedagogic practice?

Table 6. Guiding Research Question 4

Initially this question was posed in relation to Emirati women students living, studying and working in Dubai and with whom I over two decades I forged a strong relationship. However, at the end of this research journey, and at the close of 2020 as the coronavirus pandemic continues to generate an affective impact on the world (Alexander, 2021) I am inclined to feel that the knowledge gleaned from this thesis tells us more about pedagogy, learning and knowing than in relation to Emirati women students alone. I am minded to heed the call of Jandrić and McLaren who argue that 'critical pedagogy requires our engagement in all walks of life' (2020, p.2) and pose questions to critical pedagogues

- How do we…prepare ourselves for meeting a variety of challenges posted by our existence in multiple roles—teacher, parent, neighbor, voter, amateur musician, sports supporter?
- How do we…negotiate our various social roles and our convictions?
- How do we…respond to common threats of today? (ibid.)

Whilst, diverging somewhat philosophically from critical pedagogy (see Chapter 1), I believe these two academics are asking the right questions in 2020 and speak to the

endeavours of Ellsworth and Kruse 'to invent and enact practices capable of acknowledging and living in responsive relationship to forces of change that make the world' (The_New_School, 2020). I believe that learnings from my thesis help to explore the ways that we, as pedagogues, critical or otherwise, could respond. Where the thesis is grounded in the lived experiences of the Emirati female subject in Dubai, I extend my thinking to HE in the city in its multi-cultural/intercultural/worlding entirety.

The study has demonstrated the intertwining of public pedagogies and affective-discursive practices in our understanding of the way that subjectivities are (re)worked and (re)constituted. Concurring with a Biestan conceptualisation of education comprising three components, qualification, subjectification and socialisation (Biesta, 2006), it is apparent that for Emiratis in the UAE HE context, these three components of education are embedded within educational complexes segregated by nationality and gender, and mirror the discursive forms of *Vision2021*. How as pedagogues is it possible to challenge the ethnic and citizenship divisions to open possibilities of becomings between Emiratis and non-Emiratis? To treat education as intersubjective encounters of learning and belonging (Biesta, 2010)? As a start, I suggest that HE in the UAE begins to create platforms, for open discursive encounters, that are centred around media and architecture and which bring together students and pedagogues of intercultural diversity. Out of such encounters could arise an affective pedagogy of, if not understanding, but knowing the other. In this way, in the creation/usage of (virtual and/or architectural) spaces as pedagogical forces could act as

> indirect forms of communication to point out oblique itineraries to the learning self…[which] correlate to the capacity of the mind/body/brain to be aware of two things at once: the continuous unfolding of the world and the continuing unfolding of the intellect as it draws out and simplified its own and the word's emergence into things and knowledges made (Ellsworth, 2005, p.168).

These could be a terrain of potentiality for a multicultural politics as forwarded by Back and Sinha (2016) to develop conviviality and reciprocity in spaces of learning and belonging. Such pedagogical spheres, predicated on an ethics of critical

cosmopolitanism (Holliday, 2013) could forward a new way of understanding in this context built upon a critical models of interculturality (Tupas, 2014) and affective knowledge (Ainsworth and Bell, 2020), providing openings for non-Western forms of knowledge to emerge, a decolonisation of the curriculum (Holliday, 2013). This would work as an interruptive pedagogy, of which tentative experimentations have already been made in the Emirati HE context (James, 2014a). Challenges for pedagogues, remain though: of how to bring Emiratis and non-Emiratis together when both physical and social structures are designed to keep them apart; and of how to design socially just pedagogies (Bozalek and Zembylas, 2016) when living within an authoritarian state that precludes political activism.

Attending to the powerful unfoldings in this thesis of the relationship between power and emotion/affect in the Dubai, how can this knowledge be leveraged and advanced, as a contribution to unfolding pedagogical models? Taking from the academic experience of undertaking a poststructural feminist study that reifies difference, I suggest that at a minimum an ethics of care is centralised at the core of philosophies of education in HE in Dubai. I proffer this as a proposition that builds on earlier research that calls for the implementation of such an approach in Emirati HE (James and Shammas, 2018) but I contend that this, more than ever, in our contemporaneous milieu is a necessity that helps us as pedagogues in all HEIs whether or not we work with Emirati or non-Emirati students. A feminist ethics of care has for some while been promoted as an alternative moral framework based on relationality, empathy and reciprocity (Gilligan, 1982; Held, 2006). In school education this has been actively promoted by Noddings (2012; 1984) but recent scholarly work in the tailwinds of 'the affective turn' (Clough, 2007 in Zembylas, 2014) has seen an uptick in interest in the development of a cogent ethics of care for HE (Keeling, 2014; Caine *et al.*, 2020; Bozalek and Winberg, 2018). This, in turn, intricately links to new materialism and posthumanism in HE (Bozalek and Zembylas, 2016; Taylor and Bayley, 2019). Noting too that culture works as pedagogy writ large (Hickey-Moody, Savage and Windle, 2010), I take necessity of a move beyond 'humanist' philosophies and pedagogies to be a central learning from this thesis.

Koro-Ljungberg (2019) poses a different set of questions to those of Jandrić and McLaren (2020) above

- How do we constitute and practice our human-ness?
- How do we (human and non-human) constitute and practice human-ness?
- How do we (human and non-human) constitute and practice non-human-ness? (Koro-Ljungberg, 2019, p.vii)

Her questions offer an alternative view of the world that posit a balance between the human, the animate and the non-animate, honing in on the interlinkage of humans with the (un)natural world. Placing humanity squarely in the Anthropocene

> precarity makes life possible and it 'is the condition of being vulnerable to others. Unpredictable encounters transform us; we are not in control, even of ourselves … we are thrown into shifting assemblages, which remake us as well as our others … everything is in flux, including our ability to survive'. Making worlds collectively sometimes helps humans to look around rather than ahead. (Tsing, 2015 in Koro-Ljungberg, 2019)

It is this shared precarity, not only the precarities that Emiratis face, that I argue is critical for a novel ethical approach to HE in Dubai and which Taylor (2019, p.10 citing Haraway, 2016) refers to as 'staying with the trouble'. This is

> humble and hard work which asks us to stop, dwell, contemplate deeply, inhale, focus, face the problem fully in its difficulties and to (try to) attend to what's going on meanwhile in the spaces where small and large injustices occur when no-one is apparently looking, or are deliberately looking the other way (Taylor, 2019, p.10).

It is imperative going forward, to find a way that intermingles emotions, affect and subjectivities in a shared, collective manner that is able to transcend the flows of (authoritarian) neoliberal discourse of individualisation and a predominant focus on the self. HE in the UAE, because of the side-lining of political voices, rarely dares to approach critical issues. I argue, drawing from Koro-Ljungberg (2019) that 'collective, ecological and more-than-human questions … facilitate our goal for deeper acknowledgement of non-human and more-than-human forces, energies, and influences' and that these need not be a challenge to the political status quo. In writing these

words, I put forward, a speculative methodology for UAE HE (Jocson, Dixon-Román and Smith Jean-Denis, 2020) and I urge educators to develop, in these educational relations, an understanding that emotion/affect taken as pedagogical forces, can be powerfully productive (Ryther, 2016), from the extremes of hate to love. Such an approach drawing HE students and pedagogues together can promote commonalities, convivialities and solutions upon which our lives and breath depends; it is as a collective that we will survive, thrive, or perish.

7.4 Desires

My desires are simple. It is my desire that the participants in my study are able to flourish and meet their aspirations. It is my desire that Dubai can become a more inclusive city and that Emiratis/non-Emiratis will find spaces and places from which indigenous knowledges will emerge, mould, form and shape, new ways of living together. As the pandemic outbreak continues wreaking havoc, the virus is responding not only to eco-system destruction and wildlife encroachment exacerbated by climate change, but also 'to the myths and around the promised universal civilization of free markets and human rights' (Dentico, 2020). Lines of flight are needed, more
than
ever….

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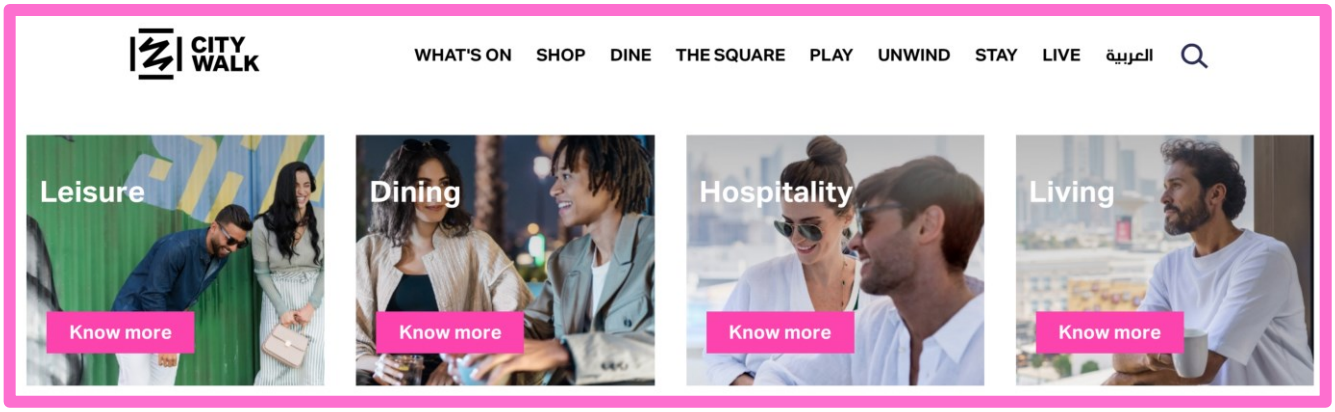
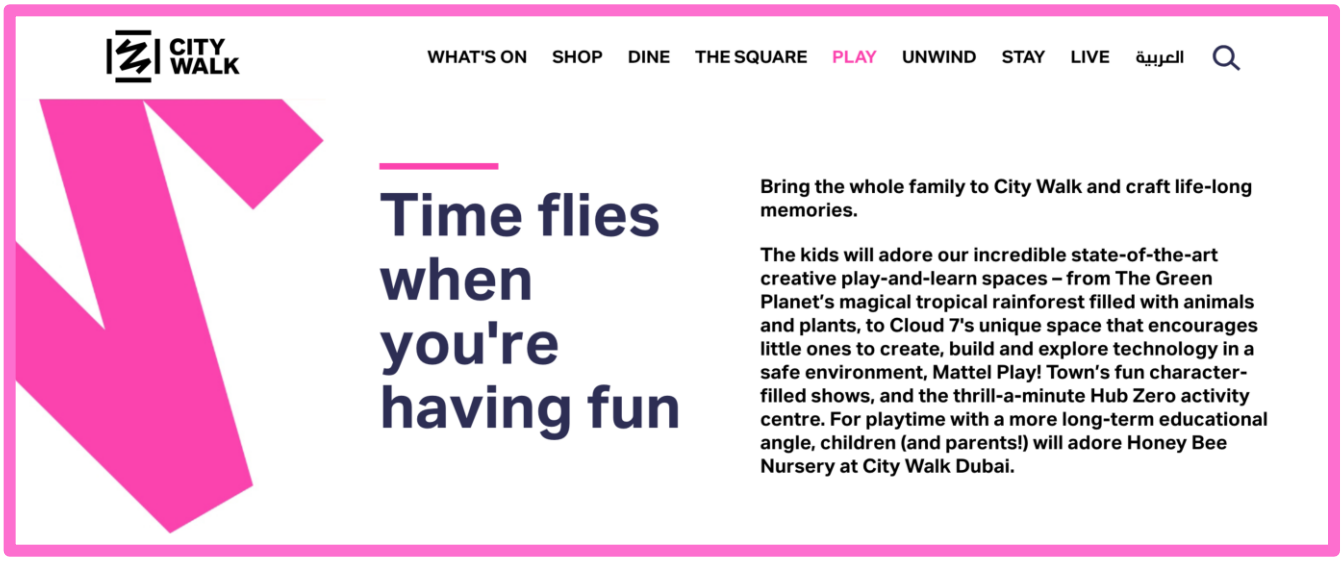
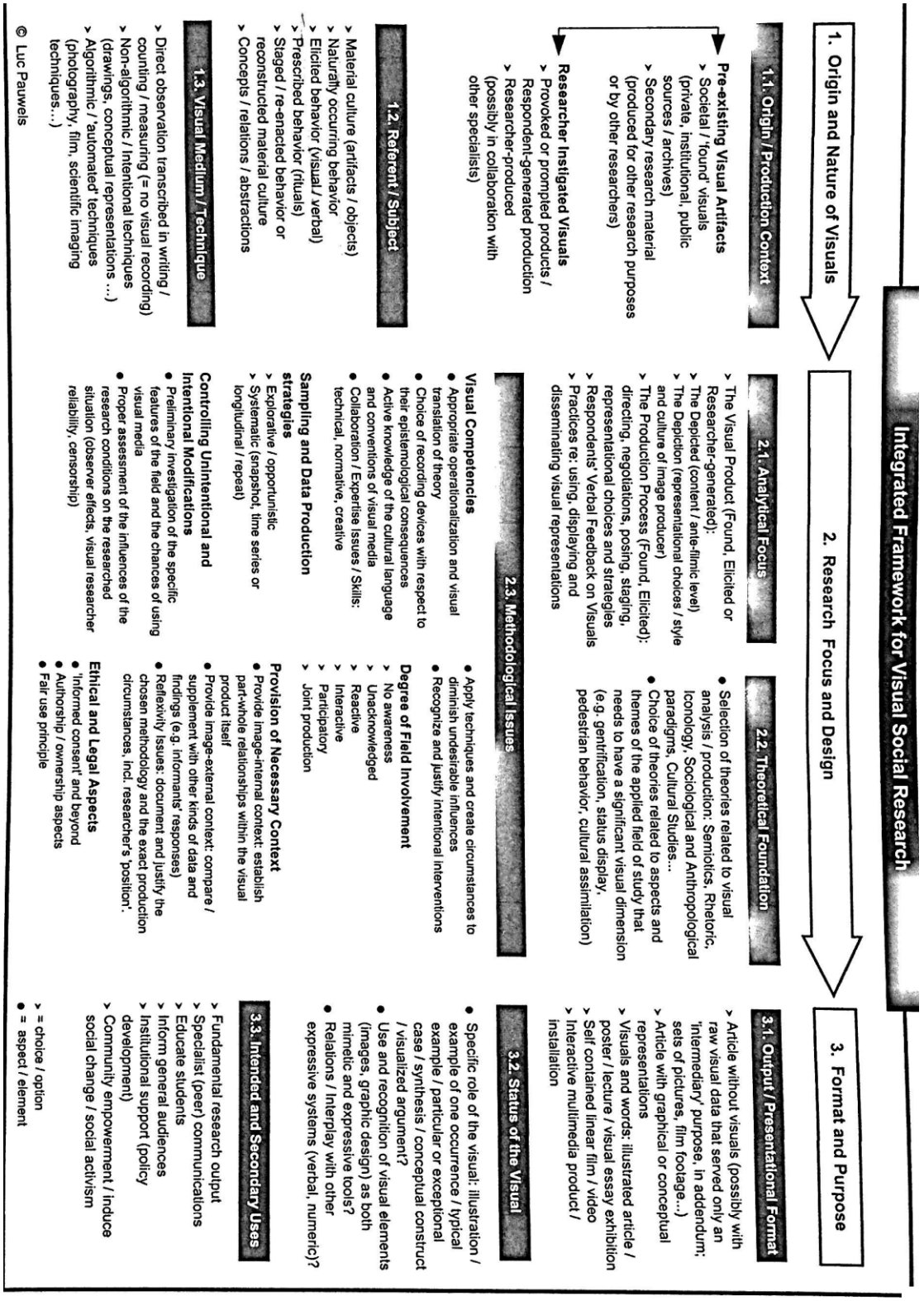
Appendices

Appendix 1: City Walk - Example of Neoliberal Lifestyle Messages





Appendix 2: Integrated Framework for Visual Social Research (Pauwels, 2015)



Appendix 3: Examples of Consent Forms

Information Sheet
Research Project:
Everyday Lives of Students in the City

My name is Aleya James and I am a doctoral student at the University of Bath.

My project involves studying the everyday lives of students and investigating the relationship between themselves and their city. I am interested in understanding how and in what ways students engage in what is considered to be a global city, Dubai. From this, I am interested in understanding how the city shapes the behaviours and attitudes of students.

The rationale for this study is to better inform teachers' and educators understandings of their students' lives. It is my belief that the better teachers understand the lives of their students, they can create better educational experiences for their students. This is particularly important in the UAE for two reasons, the teachers are often expatriates and secondly, teachers are digital immigrants, our students are digital natives.

I am using predominantly visual methods which means I use photographs, film, drawings and social media for the research. The project will involve approximately 5-6 meetings with the researcher as follows:

Week 1 – Sharing Biographies
Week 2 - Mapping your city
Week 3 – Reflecting on a Movie
Week 3 - Journey Narration
Week 4 – Photo Elicitation
Week 5 – Discussion: #mydubai - does this represent me? If not, what does?

The project will be written up for my doctorate and it may be published in journals and parts of it presented at conferences.

Consent Form
Participating in Research Project:
Everyday Lives of Students in the City

1. I confirm that:
    - I have read and understood the information sheet for the project "Everyday Lives in the City"
    - The researcher has answered any queries to my satisfaction.

2. I understand that:
    - my participation is voluntary
    - I am free to withdraw from the project at any time, without having to give a reason and without any consequences.
    - I can withdraw my data from the study at any time.
    - any information recorded in the investigation will remain confidential and no information I provide can identify me

3. I consent to being a participant in the project

I, _____ (print name) agree to take part in the above project
"Everyday lives in the City".

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Consent Form for Use of Images
Research Project:
Everyday Lives of Students in the City

This form refers to images you have produced or include your own or your family's image. All images will be securely stored by the researched. Each image requires a consent form to be signed by the researcher and yourself to decide how it can be used in the research project. This form refers to:

Choose the appropriate image	Check
Biography Drawing	
Journey Mapping	
Other images (please state):	

Choose from Options 1 or 2 below:

1. I understand that real names will not be used in association with the image. I give my consent for this image to be used/reproduced in the following circumstances:

   (Tick all that apply)

   For educational purposes in a written thesis kept by the university ❑

   In journals and reports that may be publicly available ❑

   In training workshops for educators ❑

   In local, regional and international conferences ❑

2. I do not give consent for this image to be reproduced. ❑

Student Signature: _____

Researcher Signature: _____

Date: _____

Appendix 4: Global Media Trends Curriculum and Course Outline

Global Media Trends- Summer 1
22nd May - 28th June

Week	Day	Topic	Assessment	Deadlines	Research
1	Sun 22nd May	Introduction Lesson We Are Social/Histogram/ 3 kinds of Media			
	Mon 23rd May	How does media impact our lives? Topic 8: Media Convergence • Video - • Reading - Whats App divorce case			Introduction to the Research Project
	Tues 24th May	Who does the media belong to? Topic 9: Media Ownership Class Discussion & PPT	AT 1: Filter Bubbles		
	Wed 25th May	What are the historical trends in media history? Topic 1: History of Information Sharing Quiz – PPT - Infographic			Biographies
	Thurs 26th May	History of the Arab Media Topic 2: History of the Arab Media	AT 2: History of UAE Media		
Weekend				AT 1 & 2	
2	Sun 29th May	What is Globalization? Topic 4 Research - PPT			
	Mon 30th May	Globalization Research Tasks	AT 3: Globalization Quiz & Essay	AT: 3	
	Tues 31st May	Me and My City How do I interact with a Global City? How do new media technologies change my experience of the city?			Journey Mapping
	Wed 1st June	Movie: City of Life Take notes and watch			Observation:
	Thurs 2nd June	City of Life Discussion and Reflection	AT 4: Written Response to City of Life		Class discussion Written responses/reflections City of Life Interviews
Weekend				AT: 4	

3	Sun 5th June	Functions of Communication			
	Mon 6th June (Ramadan Starts)	Assessed Task 5	AT5: Research – PPT - Functions of MC	AT:5	
	Tues 7th June	Theories of the Press			Journey Mapping Continued
	Wed 8th June	Assessed Task 6	AT6: Quiz & Video Firewall and Reading	AT:6	
	Thurs 9th June	Review			
Weekend					
4	Sun 12th June	Final Exam	30%		
	Mon 13th June	Intro to Project			Photo-Elicitation
	Tues 14th June	Building a Media System			
	Wed 15th June	Project Work	10%		
	Thurs 16th June	Project Work			
Weekend					
5	Sun 19th June	Presentations Session 1	10%		
	Mon 20th June	Presentations Session 2			
	Tues 21st June	Project Work - Intro to Part 2 - Collage #mydubai/series/media stories/media trends/films			Task 5s (if time)
	Wed 22nd June	Project Work			
	Thurs 23rd June	Project Work			
Weekend					
6	Sun 26th June	Project Work Submission : 3	10%	Project Work	
	Mon 27th June	Viva Session 1 & Course Reflection	10%		Task 5s ???
	Tues 28th June	Viva Session 2 & Course Reflection			
	Wed 29th June	Final Exam		Final Exam	
	Thurs 30th June	Assessment Period		Marking	Catch up on Missed Interviews and Data Collection AFTER assessment

Course Description

The Global Media Trends course merits a brief description as it speaks to the kind of attitudes and openness that was required to successfully navigate the course. The course was a fourth year General Studies option open in the main for students from Health Sciences, Computer Science and Applied Media. The course takes a historical look at the growth of the media from ancient times to the present day and then turns its focus onto current trends in globalization and contemporary global media. In particular, the course considers the social impact of new communication technologies on society. The final project for the course requires students to undertake a case study of a chosen country's media landscape, presenting and discussing some of the media issues cogent to the chosen country and comparing with the media situation in the UAE. The course was housed on the Bb Learn LMS platform: classroom teaching and learning strategies included:

- Short Lecture
- Class Discussions related to
    - News videos
    - Newspaper readings
    - Academic texts
- Informal class research and presentations
- Quizzes and games
- Critical response writing
- Reflection writing

Appendix 5: Data Collection Methods: A Chronology

Session Number	Session Name	Data Collection Method
1	Life History/Autobiography Interview	Mind/Concept Mapping Participant-generated Drawings
2	Cartographies of the Everyday	Mapping Participant-generated Drawings
3	City of Life	Film-Elicitation Interview Researcher-Instigated Film
4	Dubai in Pictures	Photo-Elicitation Interview Researcher-generated Photos
5	Dubai Life: Aspirations, Ambitions and Interactions	Participant-generated Drawings Participant-generated Images

Appendix 6: Detailed Descriptions of Data Collection Methods

Participant-Generated Drawing Interviews

Four of the research activities undertaken with students were narrative interviews from participant-generated drawings, defined by Pauwels ('Editorial: Sheikh Mohammed bin Zayed's inspirational vision for a post-oil UAE,')('Editorial: Sheikh Mohammed bin Zayed's inspirational vision for a post-oil UAE,')('Editorial: Sheikh Mohammed bin Zayed's inspirational vision for a post-oil UAE,')('Editorial: Sheikh Mohammed bin Zayed's inspirational vision for a post-oil UAE,')('Editorial: Sheikh Mohammed bin Zayed's inspirational vision for a post-oil UAE,')('Editorial: Sheikh Mohammed bin Zayed's inspirational vision for a post-oil UAE,')('Editorial: Sheikh Mohammed bin Zayed's inspirational vision for a post-oil UAE,')('Editorial: Sheikh Mohammed bin Zayed's inspirational vision for a post-oil UAE,') as non-algorithmic intentional techniques and detailed below.

Mapping

Life History Interview

This task uses mind/concept mapping as a deliberately multi-purpose interview task designed to break the ice and to build up a character profile of participants to include background information such as the suburb in which they lived, family demographics, languages spoken at home, origin and ethnicity. The task is adapted from an autobiography task (Francombe, (2011) and includes particular aspects of social and cultural life prevalent in the Emirati community in Dubai. I use my own autobiography to set the scene and disclose significant amounts of personal information. Through this demonstration of my life paths, challenges and vulnerabilities the scene is set for open and intimate embodied interviews. After participants listen and question me, they sketch and narrate their own stories. Taking the form of a mind/concept map, this interview intends to traverse space and time. The participants' life-paths evidence spatial practices and behaviours, combining present and past, reaching into memories and histories. This is a chance to initiate conversation around social changes as conceptualised in participants' lives and to open up the role of various urban environments and settings. Participants are encouraged to include significant life events and to

discuss the people/places that hold meaning in their lives. In this way, the life history interview bridges the first three guiding questions.

Journey Mapping

Cartographies of Everyday Life This interview investigates participants' quotidian and is directly related to the first guiding question:

> In what ways do spatial practices and spatial technologies shed light on everyday life a neoliberal multi-cultural city?

Using the same method as the first task I narrate my cartography of everyday life from a hand-drawn map showing daily/weekly/monthly/annual journeys and roles then reverse. Focussing on urban spatial practices, this mapping activity gives insights into the extent of participants' autonomy, their mobility and their negotiation of places and spaces within Dubai. The activity allows for participants to narrate spatial practices with out being directly questioned, it is a descriptive task. This method is able to indirectly shed light upon the way that the spatial technologies and embedded social hierarchies (Ticku, 2017) of urban planning, road building and land usage affect the spatial practices of Emirati women students.

Drawing

Future/Ideal Workplace: Knowing the participants were about to graduate, or were already working, this task focuses on aspirations related to space and place of (future) employment. The activity asks participants to draw their "ideal" future work place. Naturally, this is speculative but coming chronologically at the end of the six-week data collection period it is possible to interrogate the underlying aspirations of Emirati women students and their inter-subjective relationships with/between national groups in Dubai. It helps to form an idea of spaces and places that made participants feel comfortable, accommodated and in doing so relates to the second guiding question:

> How are normative expectations of women's gendered lives lived out in the city?

Diagramming

Conceptualization of Social Relations in Dubai: Of all the designed data collection methods, this is the most challenging as it deals neither with elicited/staged behaviours, cultural or educational practices nor with material culture or

identifiable emotions. Instead, this activity asks participants to work with abstractions and to create a diagram to represent how they conceive of the relationship between local citizens (Emiratis) and expatriates (non-citizens) in Dubai. This task speaks to multiple issues embedded in the guiding questions: the multi-cultural city; the worlding city; domestic labour; the changing role of Emirati women in society; divisions within Emirati society; and the impact of simultaneously being citizens and a demographic minority. Through these conceptualisations I anticipate direct and indirect evidence of subjectivity formation.

Photo-elicitation Interviews

A further two research activities undertaken with students were photo-elicitation interviews, using algorithmic 'automated' techniques (Pauwels, 2015). These are detailed in the following paragraphs. It was imperative to curate a suitable set of images to concentrate on emplacement, embodiment and belonging (Bennett, 2014). I was concerned that participant-provided imagery might have only elicited representations of Dubai's iconic locations and market-driven images shifting the research away from the everyday and the affective responses I desired. The first data collection method therefore uses researcher-generated images and the second invites participants to provide a self-selection of images.

Researcher-generated Photographs

Seeing the City – Affective Responses Images chosen reflect the spaces/places included in the Mappings but also, includes places/spaces that are absent, ordinary, mundane, the habitual and taken-for-granted (Bennett, 2014). Remaining rooted in the everyday this method speaks predominantly to the third question:

> How does Dubai as an emotional/spatial/cultural site impact the construction of the self?

The purpose is to elicit affective responses to a variety of locations across the city, interrogating the segregations and demarcations of the city. Dubai is neither a walking city nor a public transport city for the participants. Experiences outside the home are predominantly mediated by the car windows and thus to mimic this daily phenomena all the images were taken with an iPhone through a car window.

Participants are shown mundane photographs of non-descript cityscapes and asked a simple question about each picture: “How does this place/image make you feel?” or “What feelings does this image give you?” In order to help participants articulate their emotions and to move beyond simplistic responses such as “I like/hate it” a set of emotions is printed on cards in Arabic/English to pursue nuance and depth to affective responses.

Participant-generated Images

Digital & Social Media Images: Visual Representations of the City Participants are asked to bring social media or their own photographs to illustrate the title "You and Your City". Unstructured interviews follow which involve the choice of images and their attributed meaning. Coming in the late stages of the research, the intention is draw on participants' research experience and for them to portray their own subjective interpretation of belonging and Dubai (Leonard and McKnight). As a more participatory activity it allows for participants to add extra layers of meaning of intimacy and reality to the research process. The title provided gives the opportunity for participants to contribute extra notions or concepts of culture, affect and belonging that may have been omitted in earlier interviews. I see this method as a net to catch anything that may have slipped through previous interviews and covering aspects addressed within all the guiding questions.

Participant-generated Images

Digital & Social Media Images: Visual Representations of the City Participants are asked to bring social media or their own photographs to illustrate the title "You and Your City". Unstructured interviews follow which involve the choice of images and their attributed meaning. Coming in the late stages of the research, the intention is draw on participants' research experience and for them to portray their own subjective interpretation of belonging and Dubai (Leonard and McKnight). As a more participatory activity it allows for participants to add extra layers of meaning of intimacy and reality to the research process. The title provided gives the opportunity for participants to contribute extra notions or concepts of culture, affect and belonging that may have been omitted in earlier interviews. I see this method as a net to catch anything that may have slipped through previous interviews and covering aspects addressed within all the guiding questions.

Film Elicitation Discussion and Interview

Critical Response: 'City of Life' Film elicitation operates in the same mould as photo-elicitation. *'City of Life'* (Mostafa, 2009) is the first full-length multi-lingual feature film set in Dubai focussing on the parallel/overlapping lives of three sets of characters: a young Emirati man and his best friend; an Eastern European air hostess and her playboy British lover; and an Indian taxi-driver with Bollywood aspirations. The film uses multiple perspectives to shed life on Dubai. Arguably, it is slightly dated but the purpose of using this film is not for its representation of Dubai, but for the emotional, affective responses the film may engender. The city is portrayed as a multi-cultural city, as a worlding and aspirational city undergoing social transformation, in other words Dubai is positioned as an emotional/spatial/cultural site. Using this film allows participants to reflect on the city and the personal subjective meaning-making it holds for them. *'City of Life'* is used as part of the Global Media Trends course; a critical response and class discussion comprise part of the coursework. Notes and observations on the class discussion are used to background individual interviews and the written responses are used to facilitate interview discussions.

Supplementary Data Collection Methods

The intentional data collection methods are supplemented by three other important types of data, two intentional and one unintentional.

Documentary Evidence

Concrete contemporary documentation/sources include my own academic research, media and institutional documentation, policy reports and websites. These are salient for my own positioning and development of ideas and an integration of theory and method. This evidence has been collected throughout the research process and is still on-going.

Field Notes and Research Diary

I have relied upon field notes and a reflexive research diary (Nadin and Cassell, 2006); (Engin, 2011) to support my understandings and trajectory through the data collection period. Whilst it is clear that our own subjective identities will impact upon our research, through accumulated experiences, embodied interviewing and multiple identity positions, my openness in this regard, ensures crystallisation of theory-method (Richardson, 2002).

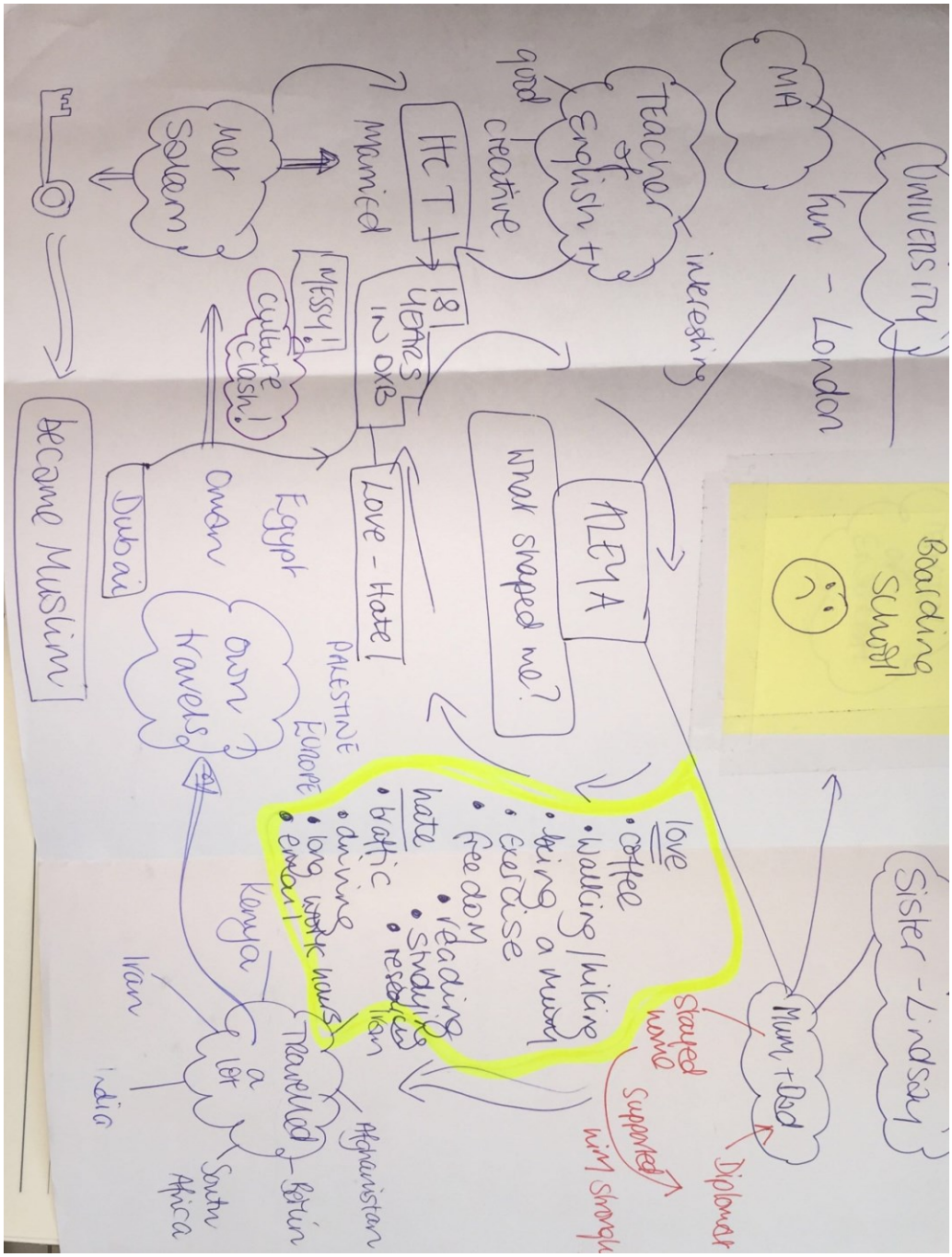
Life Experience

Purposeful data collection has been supplemented by a deliberately naturalistic and opportunistic approach following the lead of Krause (2012) and Findlow (2013) as a tactic with 'regional pedigree' (ibid., p.116). An iterative endeavour that concerns emplaced, embodied accumulation of observations and experiences draws from being: a classroom teacher of Emirati women; a member of/colleague in a multicultural faculty in government-funded HE institution; an expatriate resident of Dubai for two decades; and an attendee and presenter at numerous educational conferences locally in Dubai and regionally across the GCC.

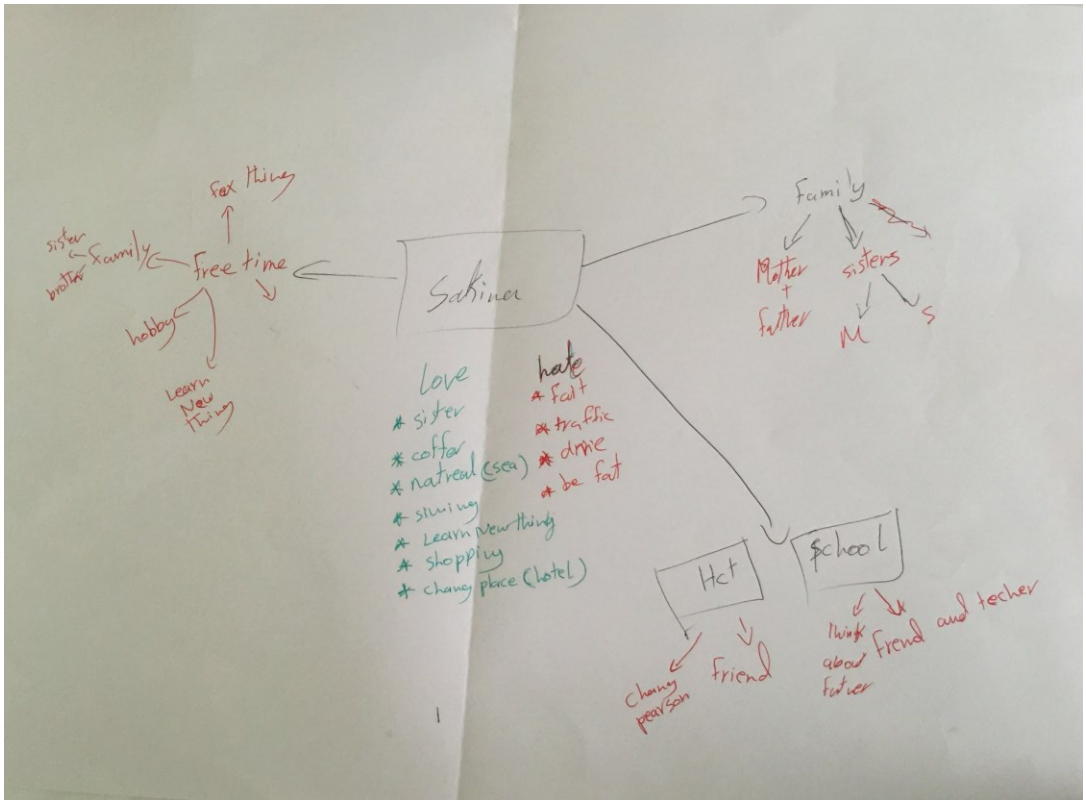
Appendix 7: Data Collection Methods – Examples

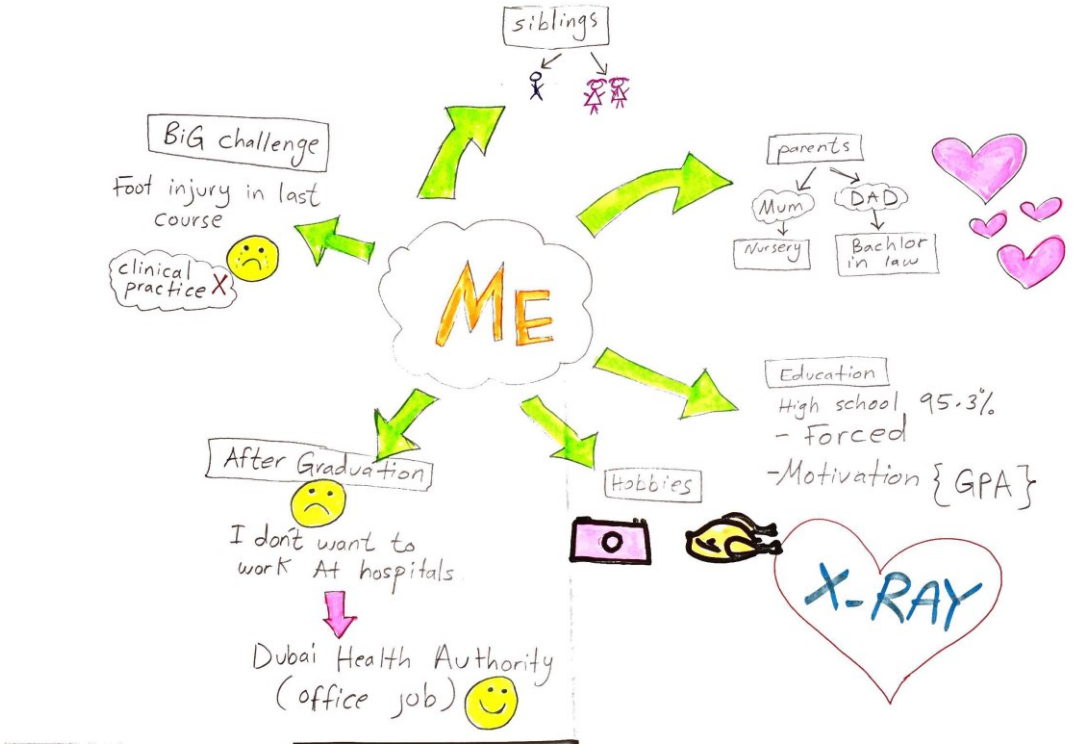
Autobiography

Autobiography: Aleya Exemplar

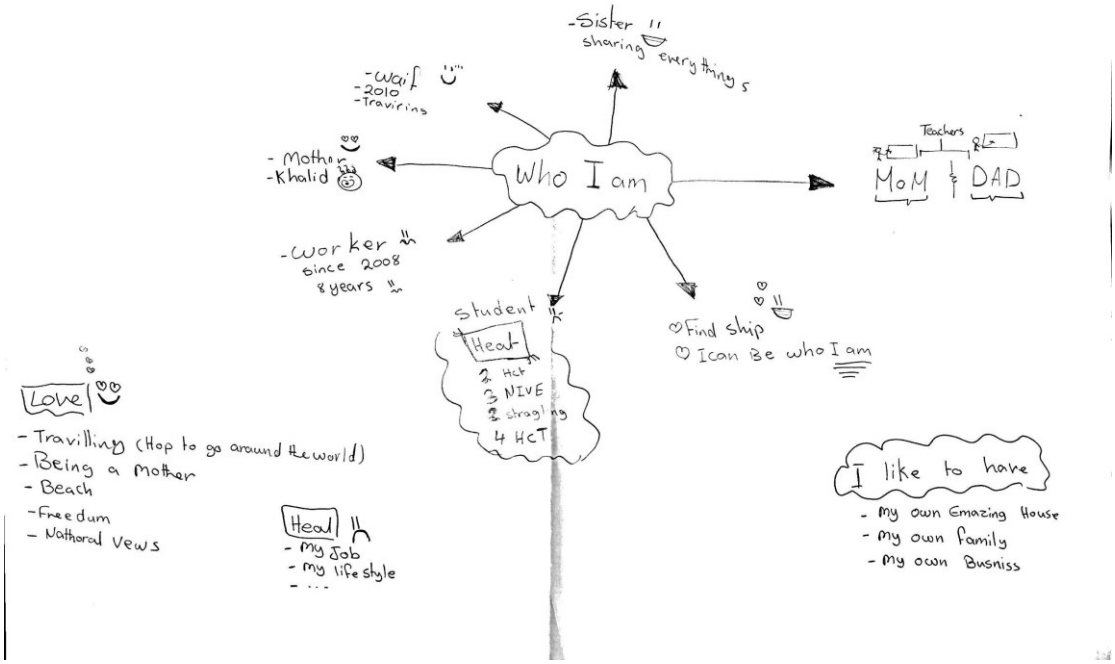


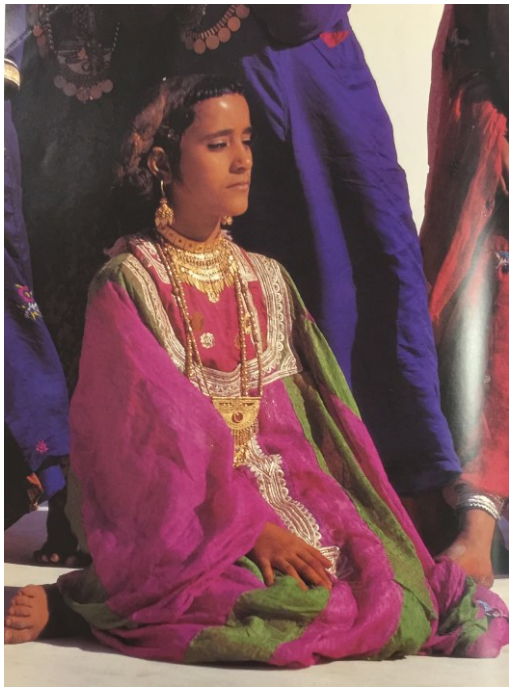
Autobiography Examples: Zainab (above) & Anood (below)



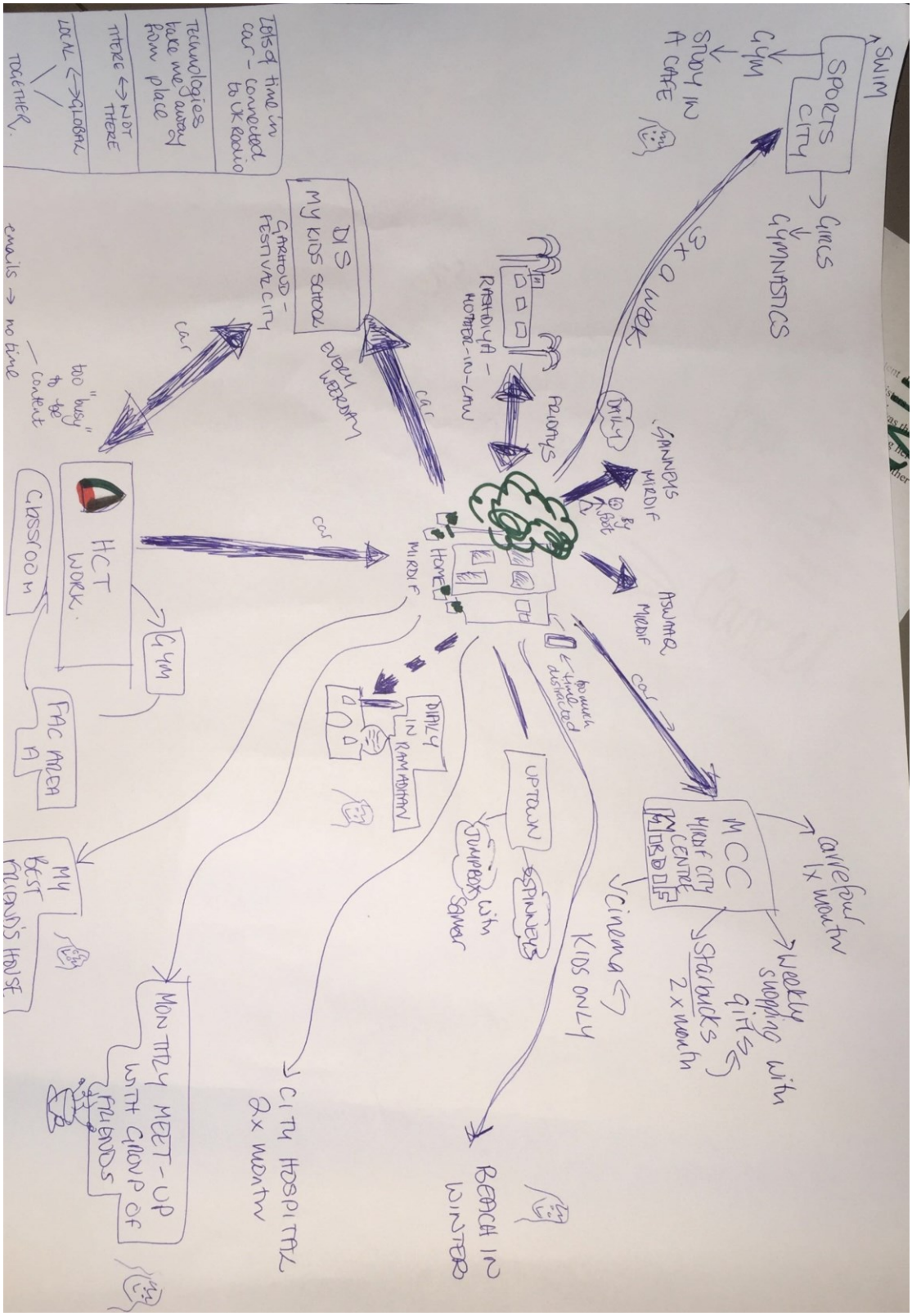


Autobiography Examples: Hind and participant-provided images of her grandmother

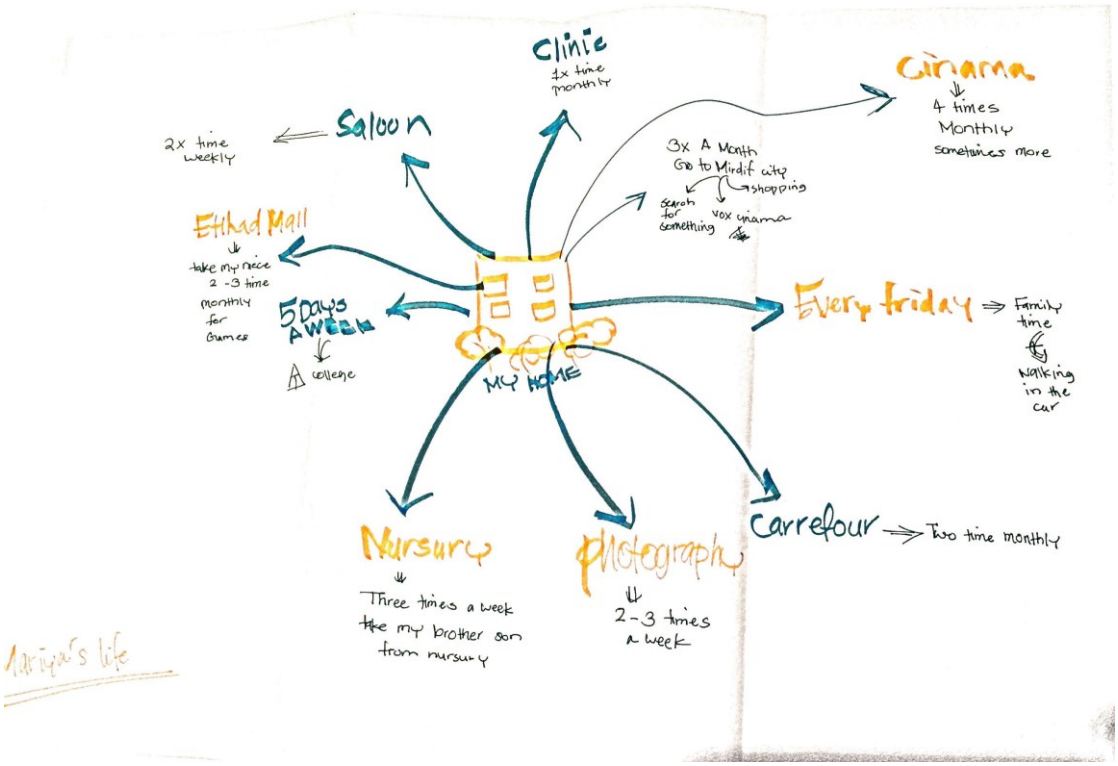


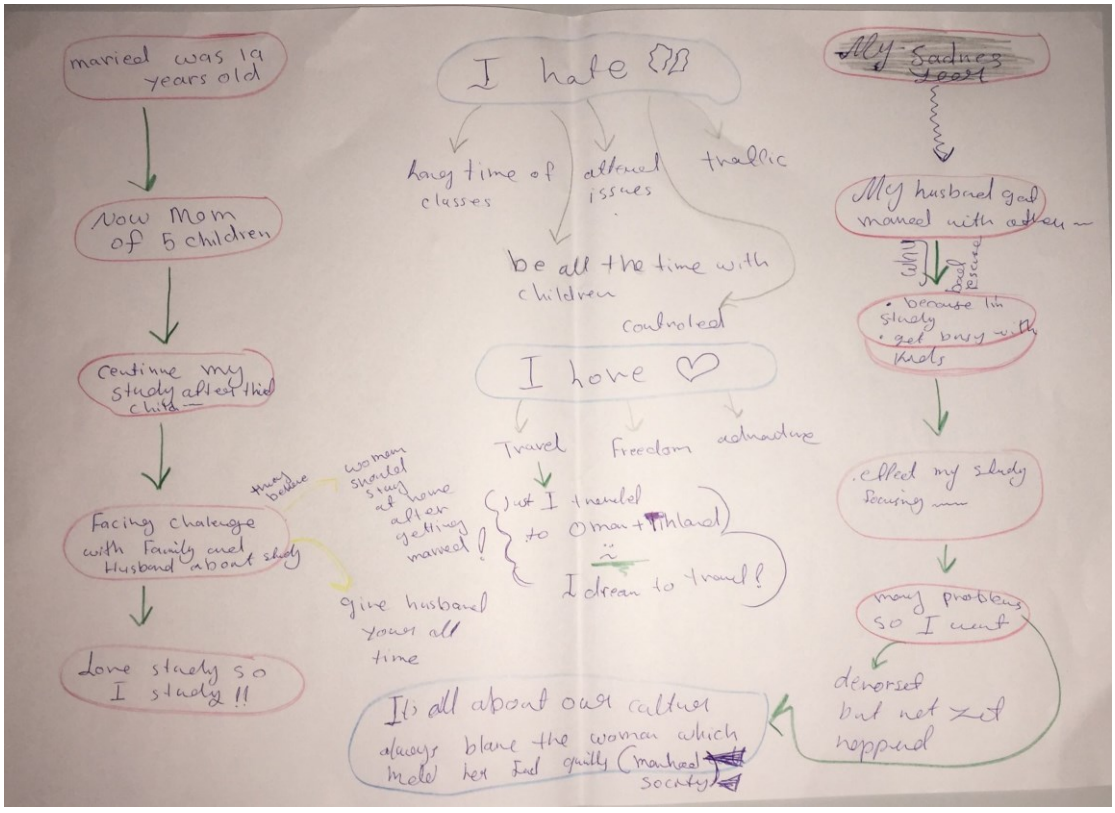


Cartography Exemplar: Aleya

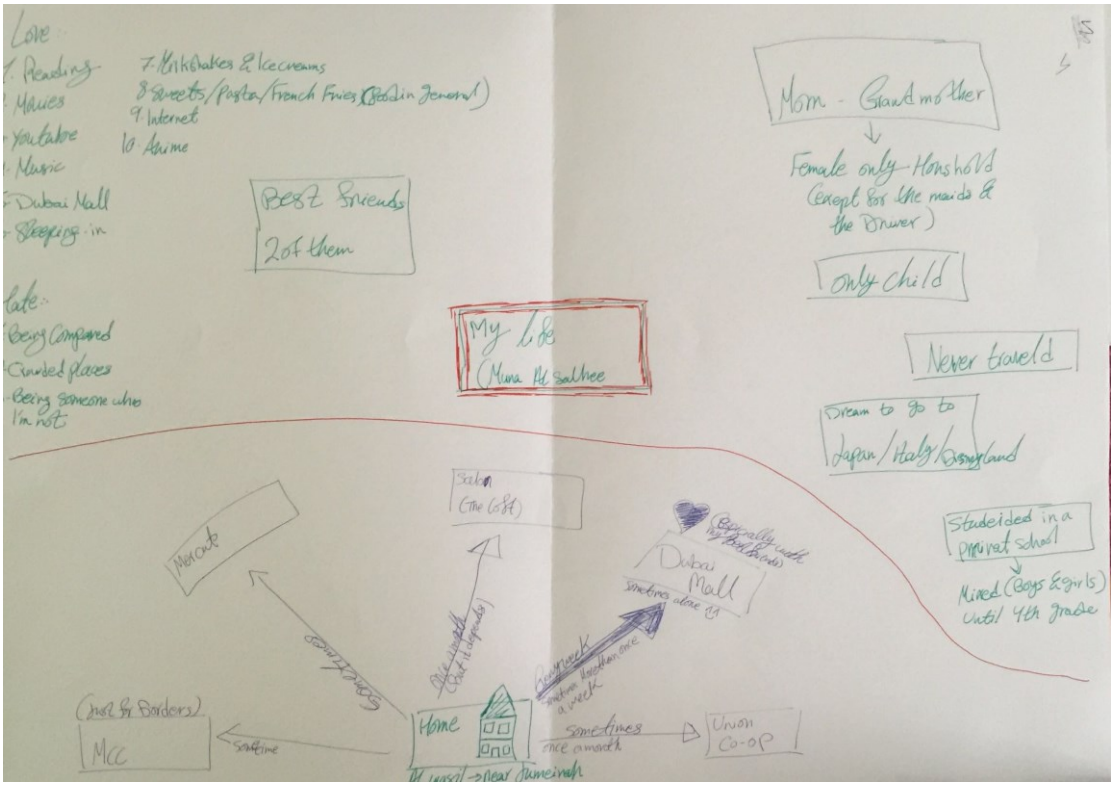


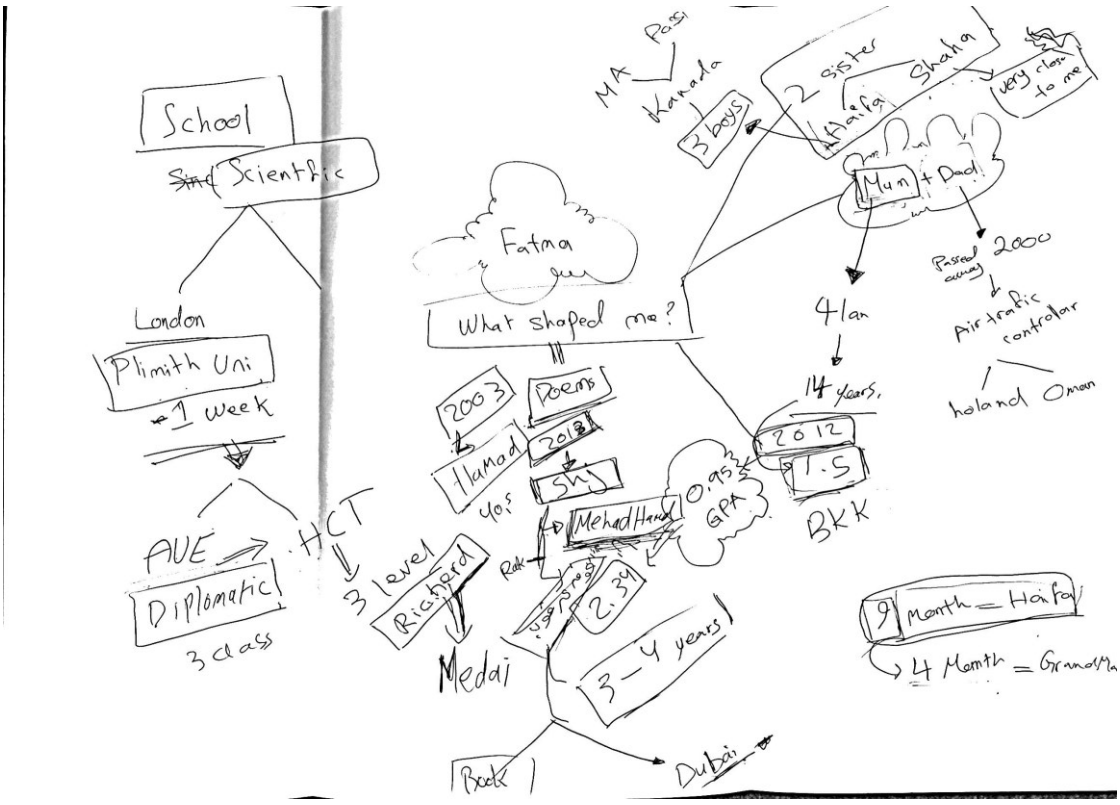
Cartography Examples: Maryam (above) and Reem (below)





Combined Autobiography/Cartography Examples: Mouza (above) and Alyazia (below)





City of Life

Link to the Movie and Screenshot of Movie

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7jR0Rpsvv1Q

Dubai Women's College Library

City of Life – Interview 3 – Semi-Structured Questions

Overall, what did you think of the movie?

The movie was made by an Emirati filmmaker.

- Do you think he did a good job of portraying Dubai?
- In what ways?
- Or why not?

His portrait of the city shows a few aspects of Emirati life – different sides of Emirati life.

- Was he accurate?
- Was he correct to do so?

Do you think that the city is divided more by wealth than nationality?

The city that is portrayed in this movie is one of multiple nationalities.

- How does it feel to live in a city that is yours but populated by non-nationals?
- In what ways does it benefit you (as a local) or disadvantage you?

From looking at the movie and your map, it seems that there are whole areas of Dubai that are for non-local people (and that you live in an area that is mostly populated by locals)

- How does that make you feel?
- Can you imagine an alternative way of living/constructing the city?

- Which nationalities do you feel add most to the city?
- In terms of their contributions?
- Which are the least?

We mentioned that there were limited roles for Emirati women in this movie

- How would you like to have seen Emirati women portrayed in this movie?
- Have things changed since this movie was made in 2009?

Critical Response Questions – City of Life

Reem

Think about the film "City of Life".

- Answer the questions with your own ideas and opinions
- Use examples from the film
- Write at least 250 words in total

1. **This is the first international film that featured Dubai as the main scene and location of a film. What impression does it give of Dubai as a city?**
   The impression that I had from this movie about Dubai is that if you don't have money you can't live in this city. As the film shows that the money is the power in this city, to have a convenience life. Not to forget that, it also shows if you want the money you should work.
2. **In your opinion, how realistic is the film in showing life in Dubai?**
   Actually it shows the real life behind in Dubai city, even if it hurts to see that in Arabic Muslim city. However, it also, shows that how our parent and our grandmother are still respect the tradition, which is belong to Emirati people.
3. **How does the movie depict Emiratis in the film? Are they shown in a positive or negative light? Or a mix of the two? Give examples**.
   It gives both sides negative and positive. The negative sides were more than the positive sides. The negative sides were about drinking alcohol and going to the mix party, where you can find the women and man are open to do anything, which is not coming under the Emirati traditional and our religion. However, it shows a kind of positive side, which is about still the parent saving and try to reach the good habit in our traditional and religious believe to their children.
4. **Which was your favorite character in the film and why?**
   My favorite character in this film was Fisal, because he was the one who tried to be good person and have his father satisfaction. However, there were their friends who tried to pull him in the positive side, which is the side he doesn't want to be with. Add it to that, he was the person always felt guilty, as well as, if he did something bad he felt sorry, and tried to fix his mistakes.
5. **Could you see any stereotypes in the film? Were they positive or negative?**
   The stereotypes that I saw in this film were negative. As they showed that the Emirati people not give the life any value and they just borne to have fun, wasting their time in silly things, also, not caring about their family.
6. **Overall, would you recommend this film to someone who hasn't seen it? Why? Why not?**
   Actually I'm not recommending this film for anybody to see it, because it's carry many negatives habits and showing the silly life in the one of the famous, Muslim, and Arabic developed city.

Ousha

Think about the film “City of Life”.

- Answer the questions with your own ideas and opinions
- Use examples from the film
- Write at least 250 words in total

1. This is the first international film that featured Dubai as the main scene and location of a film. What impression does it give of Dubai as a city?
   In my opinion, it present the negative side of Dubai due to many reasons; for example the DRINKING alcohol; the film present for other people that the drinking alcohol is one of the habit or routines for the people who are living in Dubai and it shows in general that even the for foreign and local people are drinking, which is truly in my opinion for foreign, but not true for local because some of the young local are drink not all local.

2. In your opinion, how realistic is the film in showing life in Dubai?
   In my opinion, there are negative realistic points for example, Emirati people are rich and poor people can’t live in Dubai. However, there are many positive realistic points for example the relationship between Emirati friends and the relationship in business sectors.

3. How does the movie depict Emiratis in the film? Are they shown in a positive or negative light? Or a mix of the two? Give examples.
   For this film the a depict of Emiratis where negative because of many reasons. The first reason is Emirati women were shown in the film with no important roles for example, Fatima she was present in film as an Emirati women who is caring about her grandmother with not doing an thing in life like working or going out with her friends. Other reason is, the film show for the audience that the Emirati guys are rich and there are drinking alcohols, which is not true because many of the Emirati guys are not drinking and going to the night clubs and some of the guys are not rich.

4. Which was your favourite character in the film and why?
   In my opinion, the Taxi driver was my favorate character because he tried many ways to achieve his aims and dreams.

5. Could you see any stereotypes in the film? Were they positive or negative?
   Emirati women were shown in the film with no important roles for example, Fatima she was present in film as an Emirati women who is caring about her grandmother with not doing a thing in life like working or going out with her friends which is a negative stereotype in my opinion. Also, the Emirati guys where rich, which is negative stereotype because many of the Emirati guys are not are not rich. However, the positive stereotype was friends help each other when they have difficult and do what they can do to save the friends life.

6. Overall, would you recommend this film to someone who hasn't seen it? Why? Why not?
   I'm not recommend this film because it build and show for people who are not living in Dubai negative impression, especially about the Emirati guys and because the film shows that the drinks are available all the time and they are addicted to it .

Hind

Think about the film “City of Life”.

- Answer the questions with your own ideas and opinions
- Use examples from the film
- Write at least 250 words in total

1. This is the first international film that featured Dubai as the main scene and location of a film. What impression does it give of Dubai as a city?

- The film has many impressions that can com to the viewer in the fist time, it has a lot of bad and good impression, it also has some of the reality the we as UAE national and citizen have. One of the impression that the viewer could have that all the UAE national and citizen are rich, a privileged young male Arab at odds with his cultural identity, the emirate women don’t have any role in the life, also it is the city that your dream will come true.

2. In your opinion, how realistic is the film in showing life in Dubai?

- The film includes so many really thing in our life it also describes so many things of our daylily rotten as we are daylily have our car to go even to the nearest place to us, also the fast impetuous car drivers are in the city, also show us that Dubai is a diverse national city, as well as, that friend ship are very important in our life.

3. How does the movie depict Emiratis in the film? Are they shown in a positive or negative light? Or a mix of the two? Give examples.

- We've been living in Dubai for all of our life and everything in this movie was talking to us the character, the story, the atmosphere and the sets of course, but it has both mix depict as we are humble and not all of us rich, as the movie describe that the gay can bay any thing by his money and we are not like this. As well as, he also asked for his father satisfaction and we are as our religion and culture we should look for our parent’s satisfaction. The negative thing that I feel it in the movie that they conceder that Women’s roles are cliché.

4. Which was your favourite character in the film and why?

- The taxi driver because he had a dram and he is aiming for some thing in his life.

5. Could you see any stereotypes in the film? Were they positive or negative?

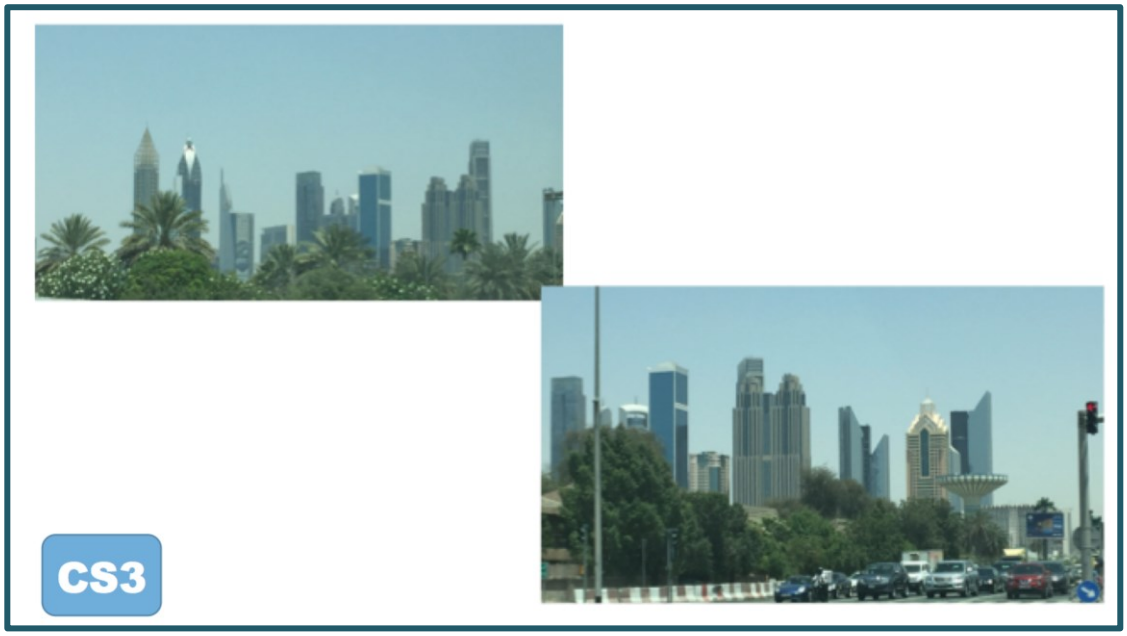
- Yes, there are a stereotypes in the film which is that all the Emaratis are rich, and all the Emarati women are cliché.

6. Overall, would you recommend this film to someone who hasn't seen it? Why? Why not?

- Yes and no, because to watch such as this film will give you an impact to the UAE and to Dubai exact if you are not one of the UAE citizen, and yes for the UAE citizen to understand what are our media think about us as a local.

Photo Elicitation

Selected Examples of Picture Cards




N2


L1

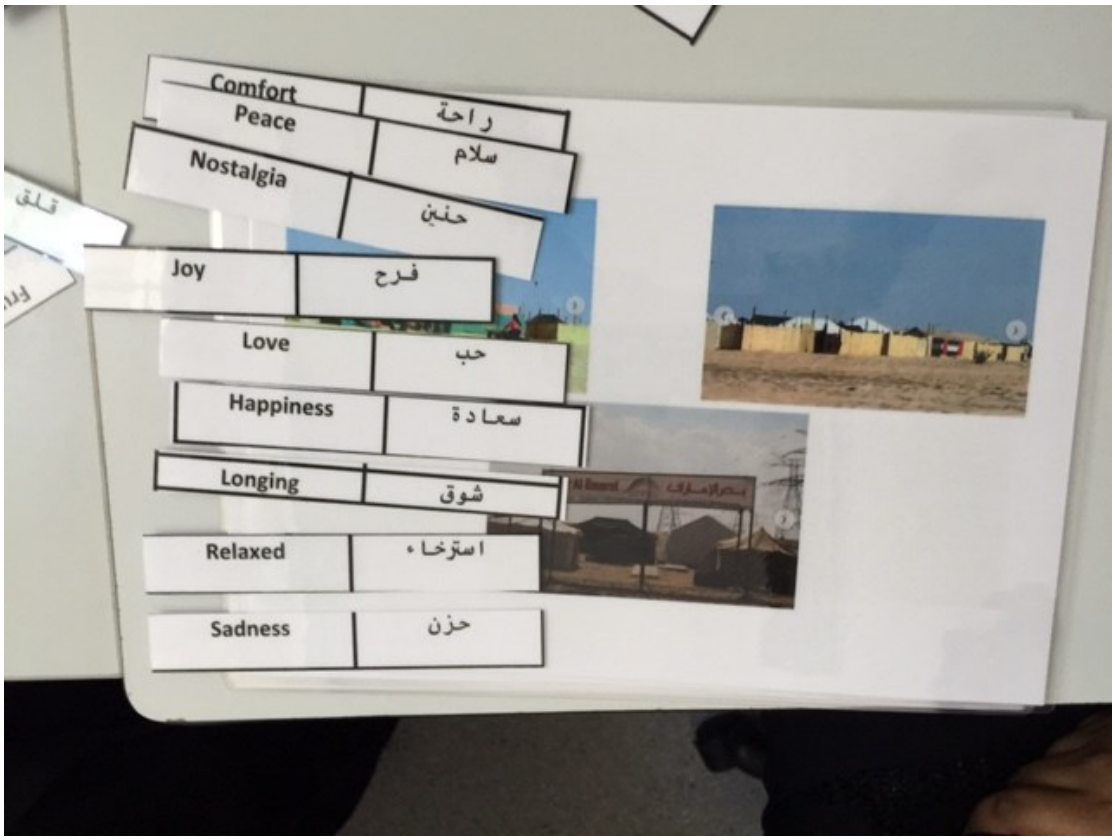

MEDICLINIC CITY HOSPITAL
LATIFA HOSPITAL
MEDCARE HOSPITAL
HC1


N4


Bader Al Emarat
بـدر الإمـارات
FT5


TOYOTA
R1

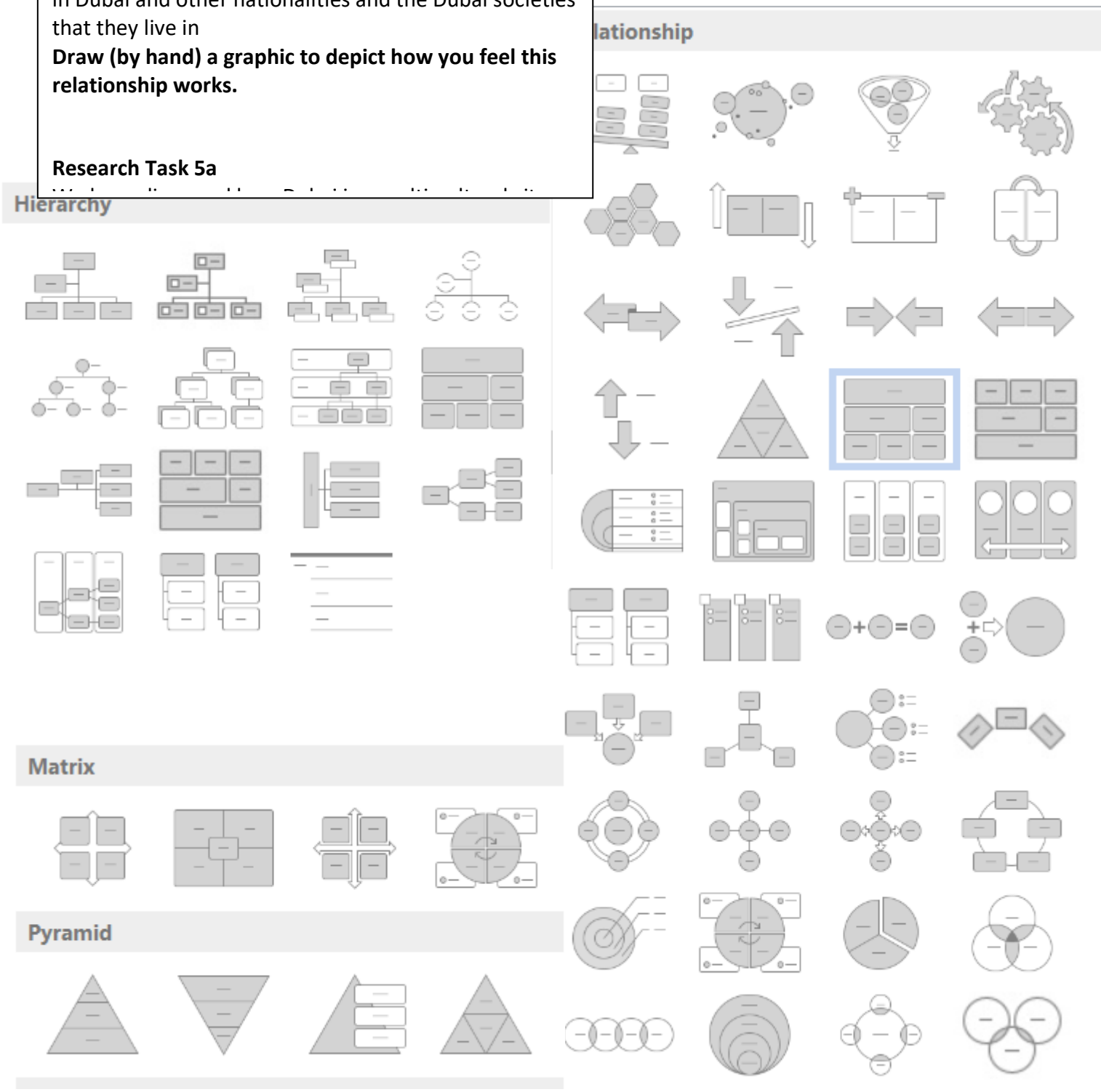
Picture Cards with Emotions



Dubai Life: Aspirations, Ambitions and Interactions

Research Task 5a
We have discussed how Dubai is a multi-cultural city. Pictured are lots of different ways that relationships can exist
Think about the relationships between Emirati society in Dubai and other nationalities and the Dubai societies that they live in
Draw (by hand) a graphic to depict how you feel this relationship works.

Research Task 5a



Research Task 5b
Some of you are working
Some of you are still studying
Some of you are just graduating
Some of you have graduated and are looking for work.
Describe or draw your ideal workplace/work space

- **What would it look like?**
- **Who would you be working with?**
- **Where would it be located?**

Research Task 5b
Some of you are working

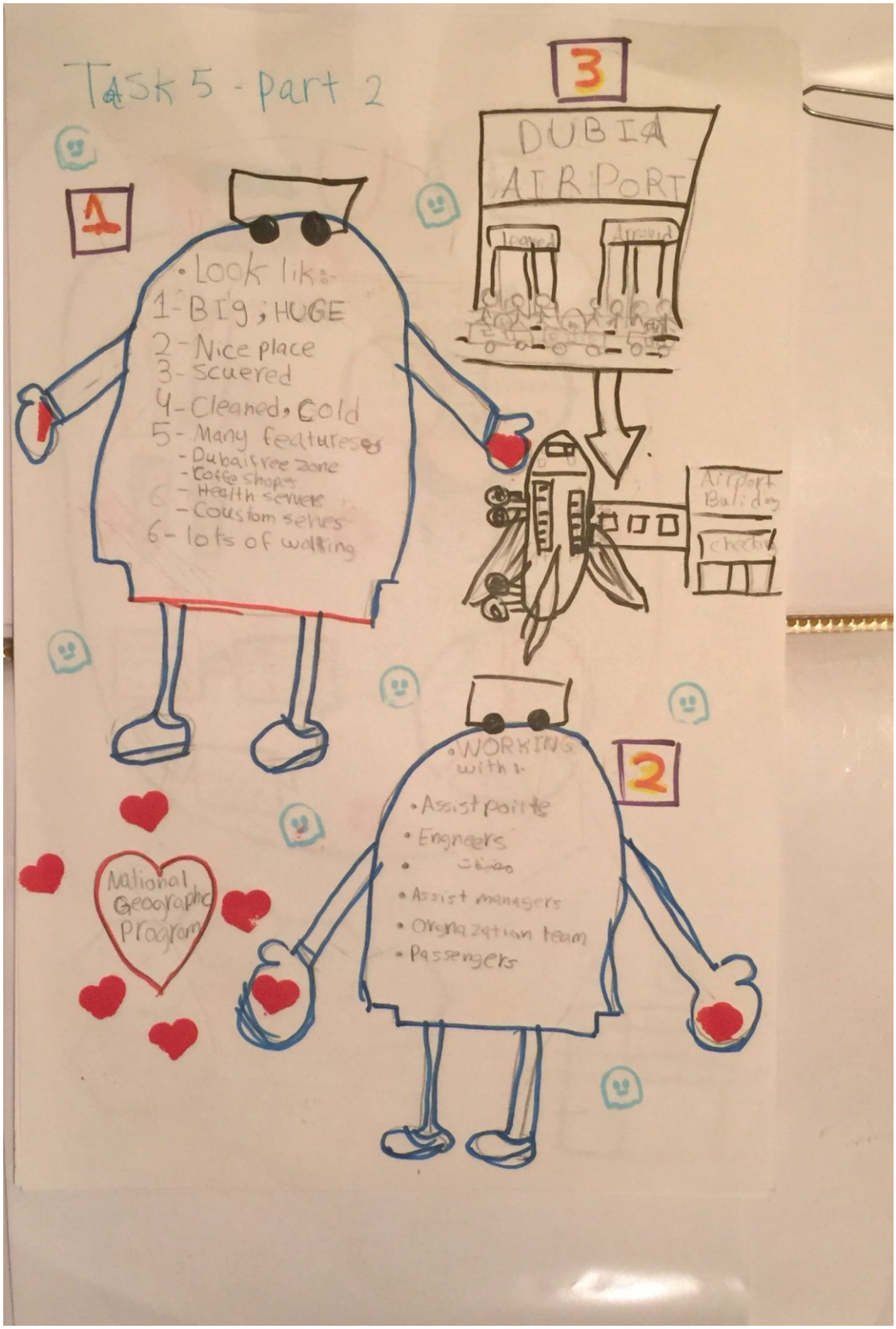
Research Task 5c
Using Social Media or your own photos
Find 3 photographs or images that best describe or represent "you and your city"

Whatsapp me your pictures and an **audio message** that explains each picture

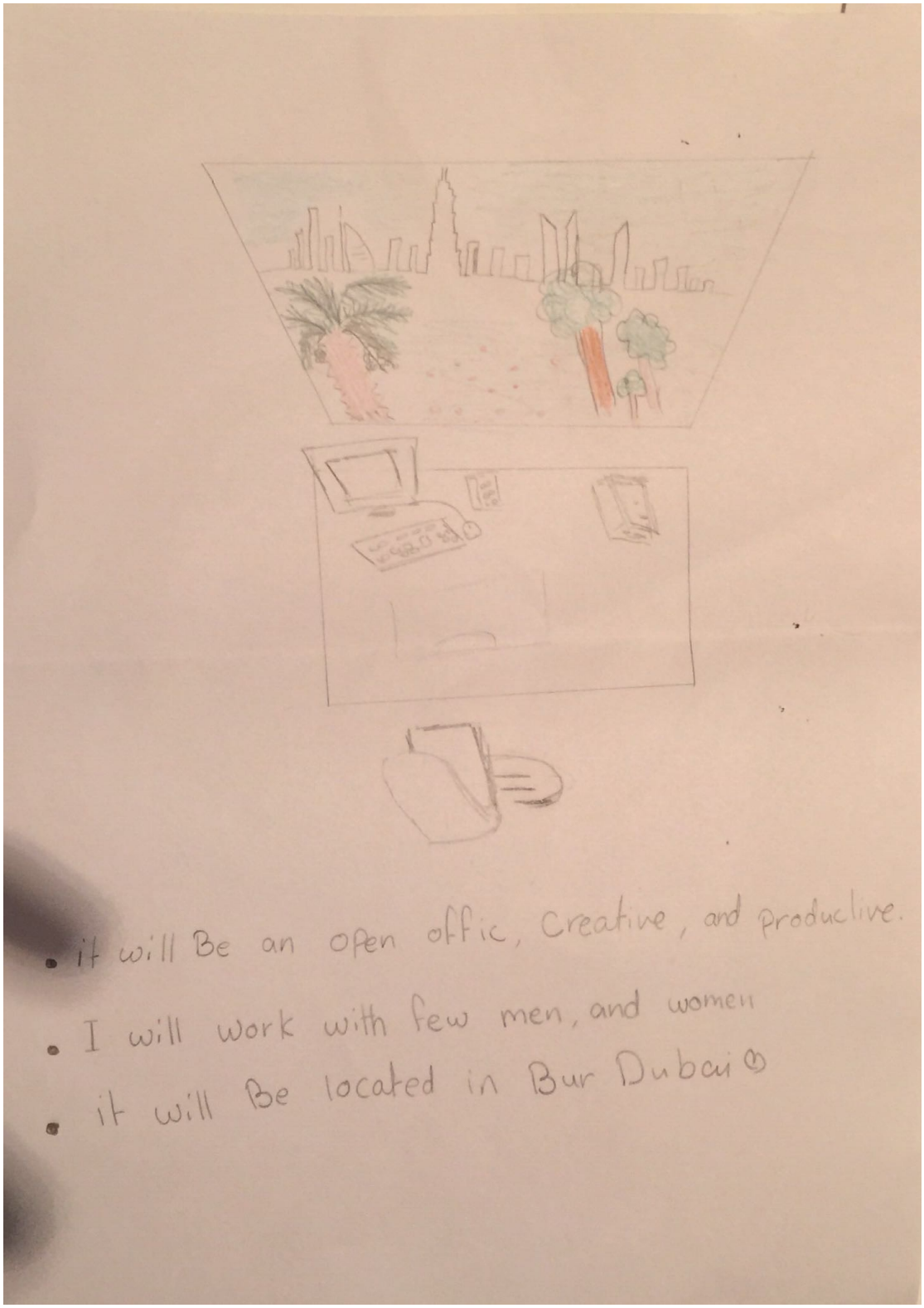
Research Task 5c
Using Social Media or your own photos

Ideal Workspace

Examples: Ousha

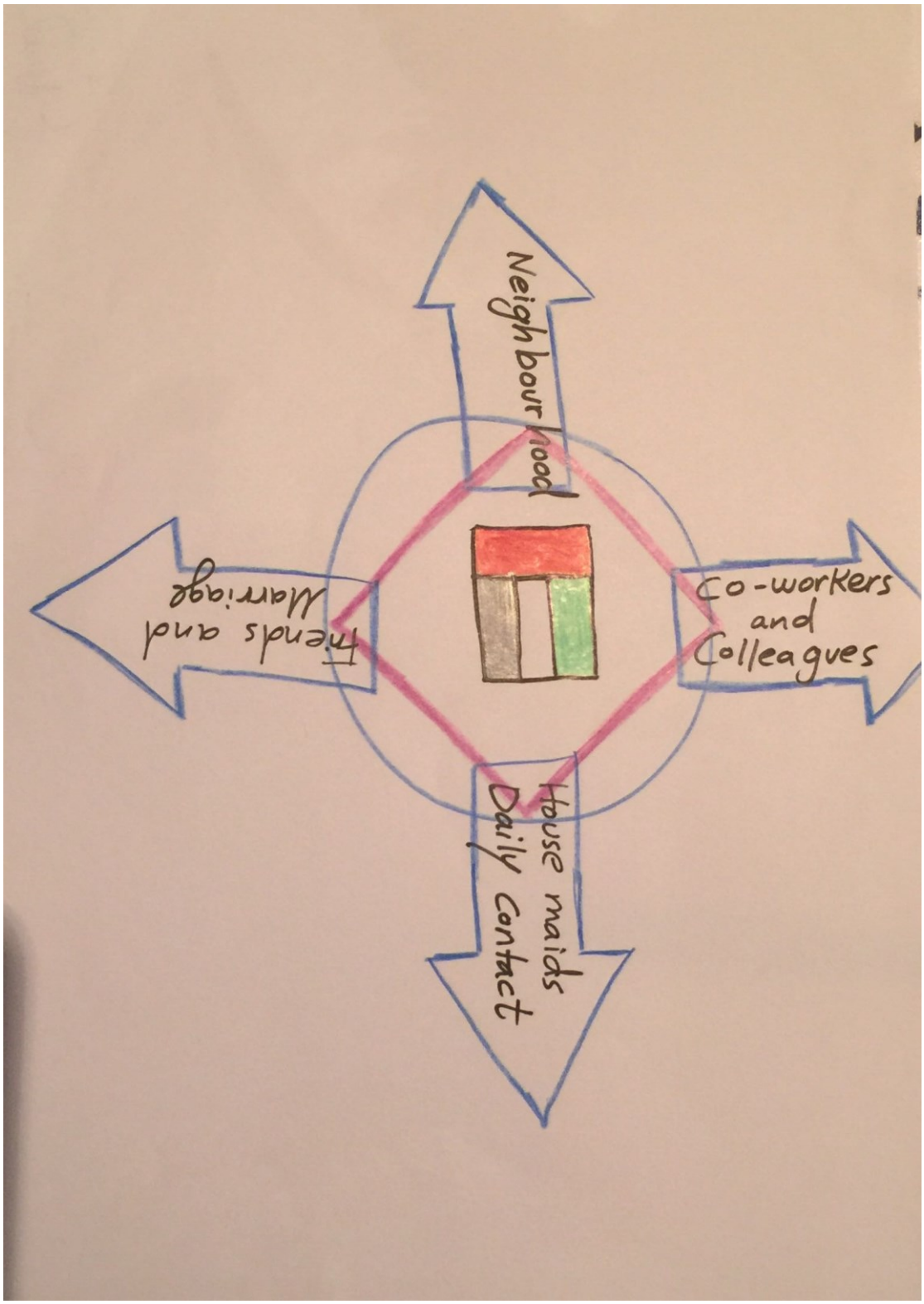


Hind


• it will Be an open offic, Creative, and productive.
• I will work with few men, and women
• it will Be located in Bur Dubai ☺

Social Relationships

Anood



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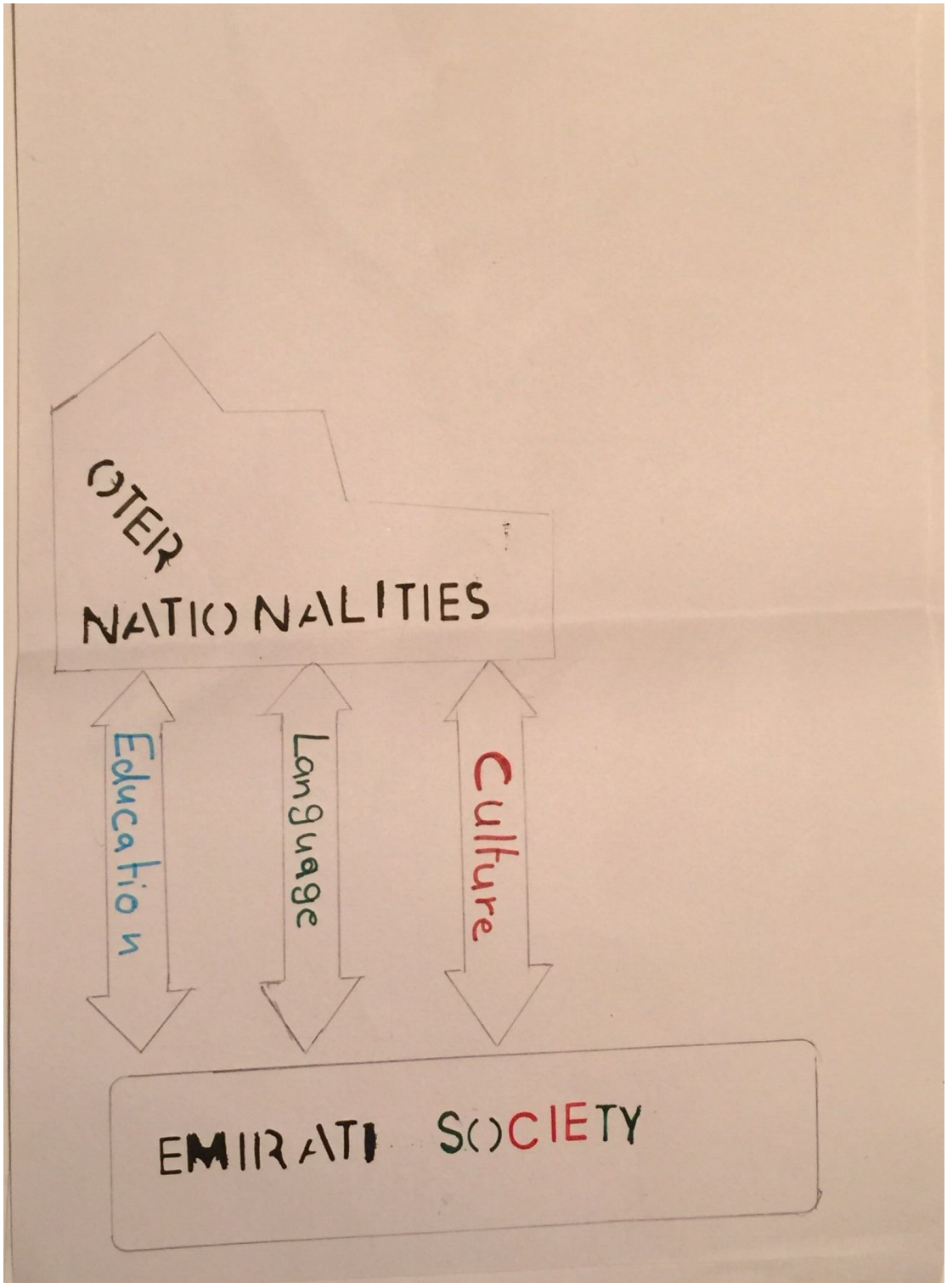
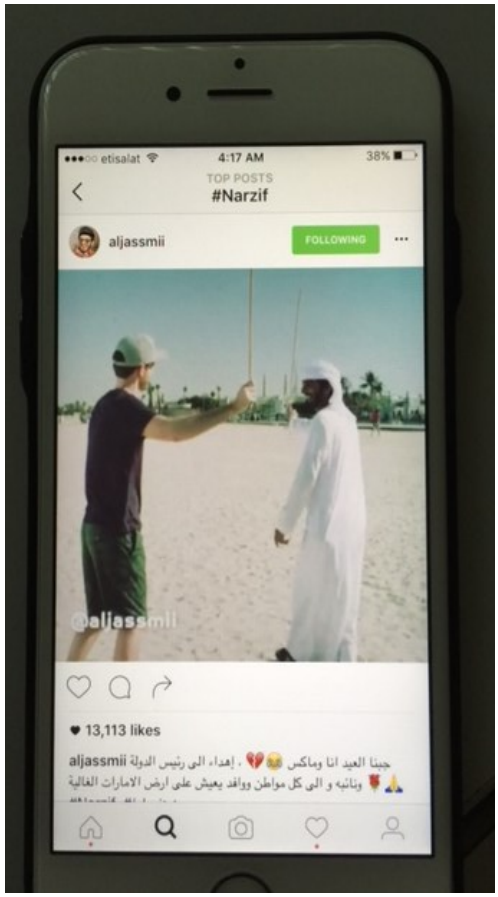

OTER
NATIONALITIES
Education
Language
Culture
EMIRATI SOCIETY

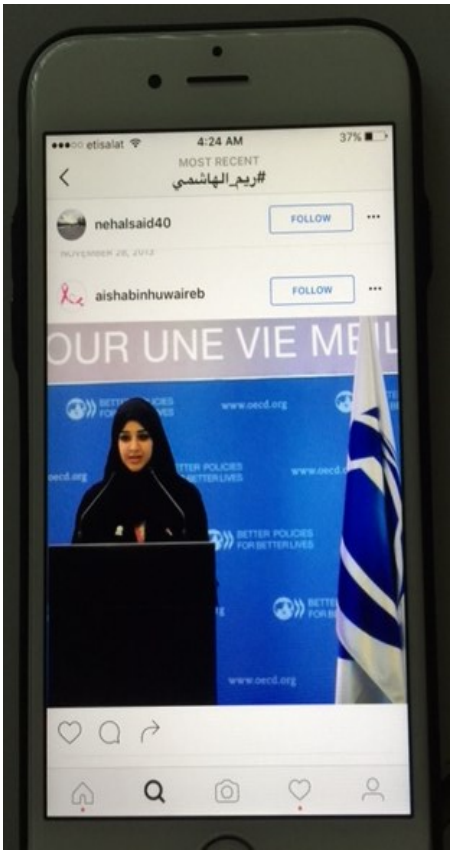
Ousha


Task 5 - Part 1
UAE
1-WORK
High salary
Low salary
2- Studying
[Colleges]
Caring
Helping
Caring
3- Traning
Develope my skills in work
4- Daily life
Values
culture
Pace
UAE Society
Education + Health
Life style
Open mind
Respect
Rules
Emiratis.

Me and My City - Images

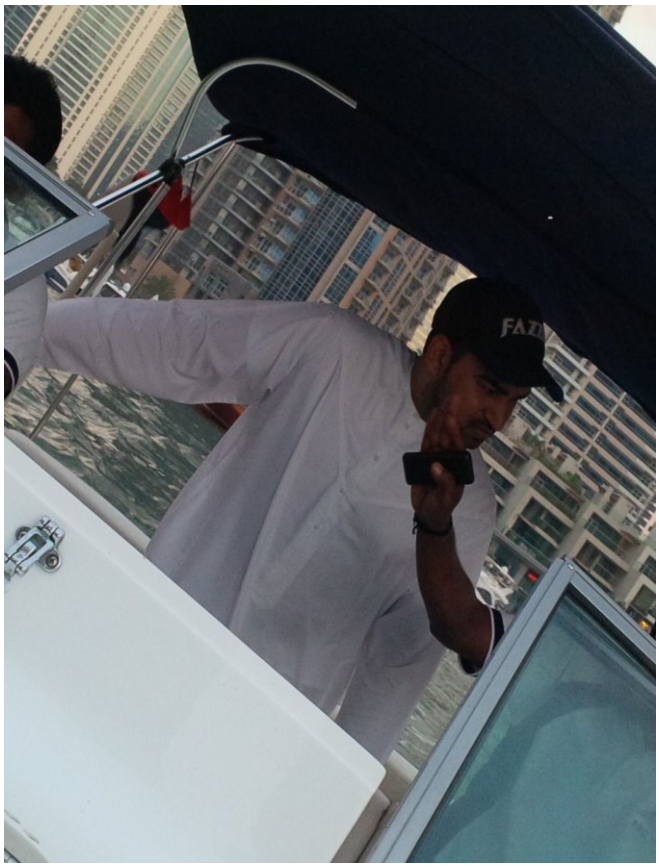
Anood



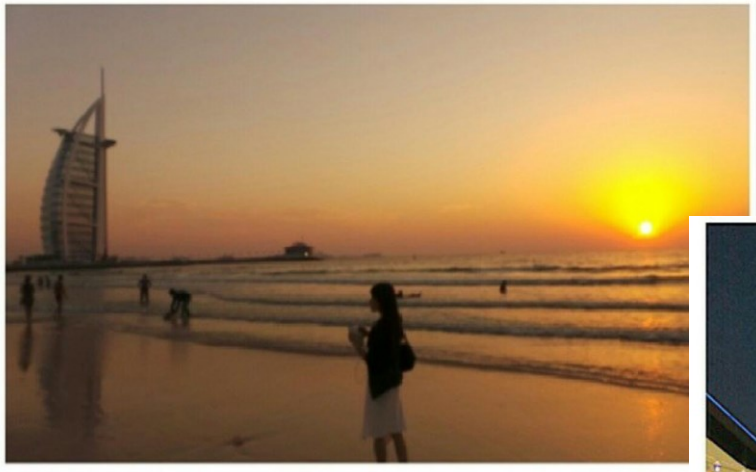


Ousha

Ousha

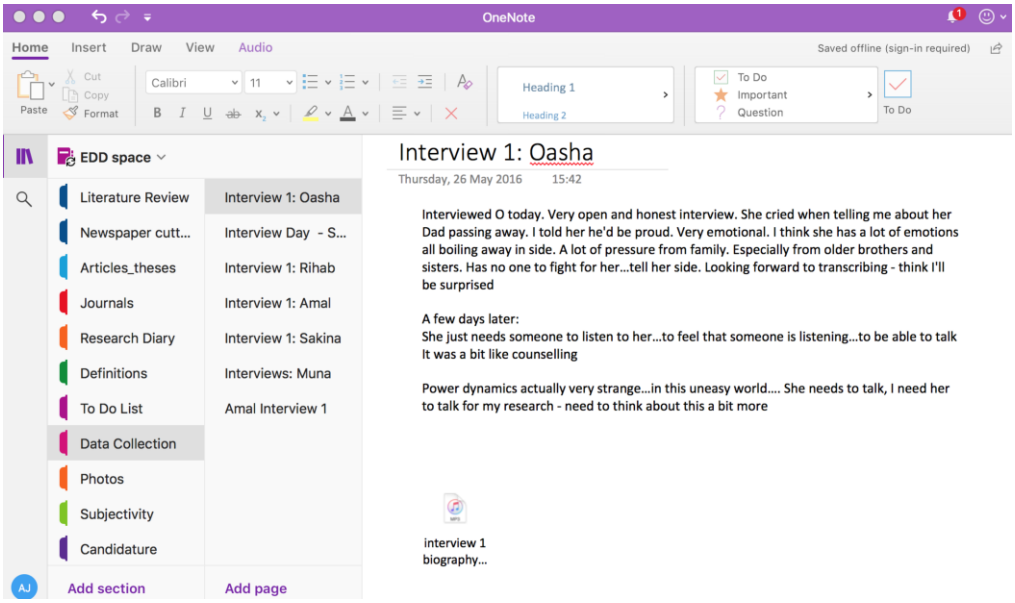


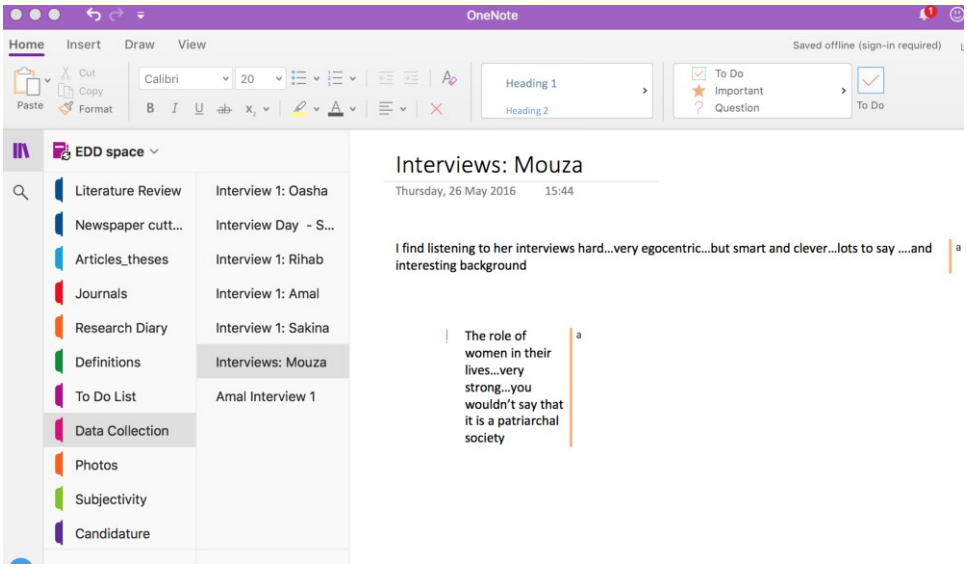
Hind

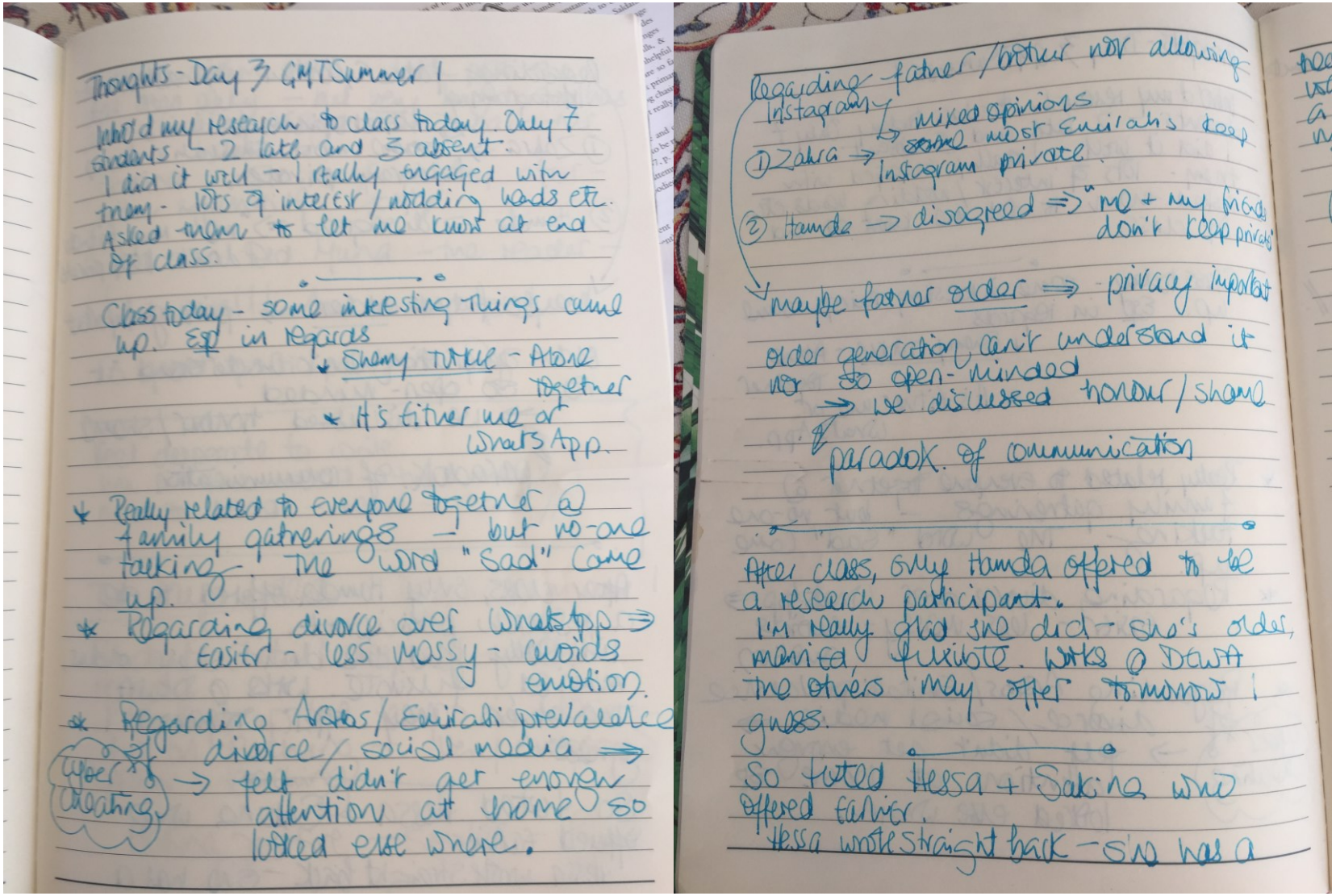


Appendix 8: Supplementary Data Collection

Research Diary - One Note







Thoughts - Day 3 GATSummer 1

Introd my research to class today. Only 7 students - 2 late and 3 absent.
I did it well - I really engaged with them - lots of interest / nodding heads etc. Asked them to let me know at end of class.

Class today - some interesting things came up. Esp in regards
* Sharing Time - Alone together
* His father use of WhatsApp.

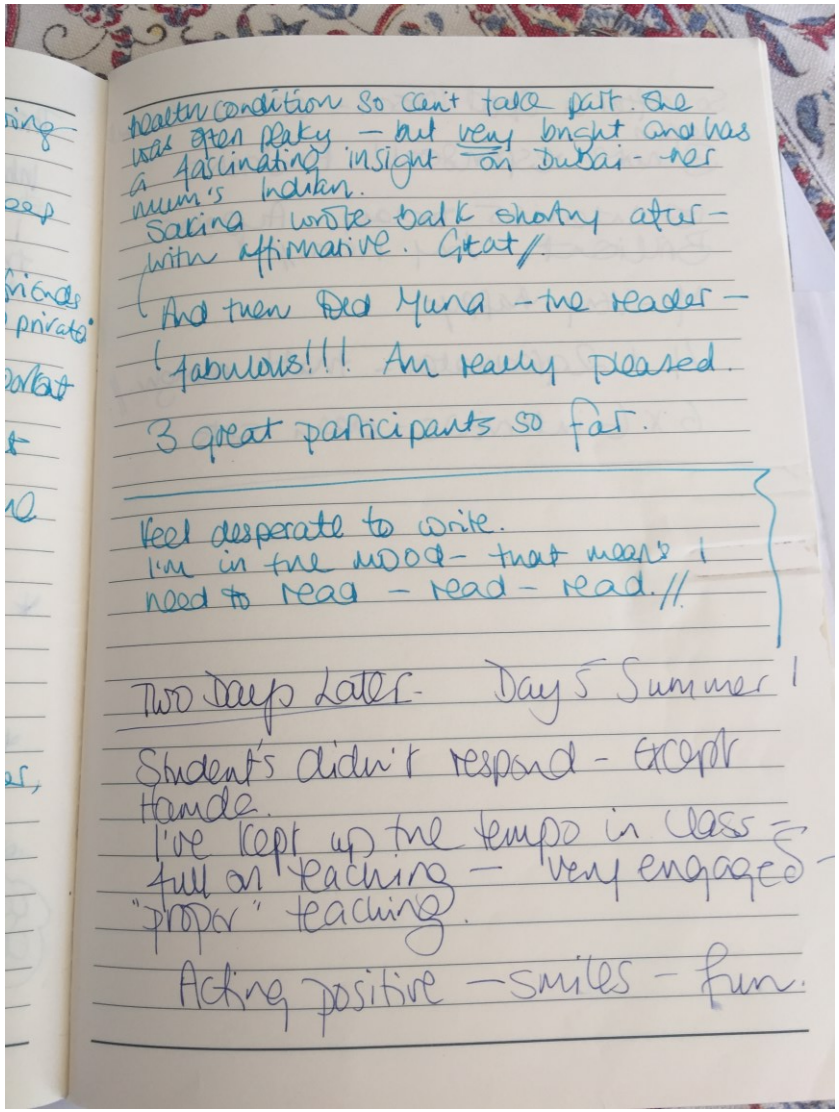
* Really related to everyone together @ family gatherings - but no-one talking. The word "Sad" came up.
* Regarding divorce over WhatsApp ⇒ easier - less messy - avoids emotion.
* Regarding Arabs / Emirati prevalence of divorce / social media ⇒ (over thinking) → felt didn't get enough attention at home so looked elsewhere.

Regarding father / brother not allowing Instagram
① Zahra → mixed opinions
most Emiratis keep Instagram private.
② Hamda → disagreed ⇒ "me + my friends don't keep private"

maybe father older ⇒ privacy important
older generation, can't understand it
not so open-minded
⇒ we discussed honour / shame
paradox of communication

After class, only Hamda offered to be a research participant.
I'm really glad she did - she's older, married, flexible. Works @ DEWA
The others may offer tomorrow I guess.

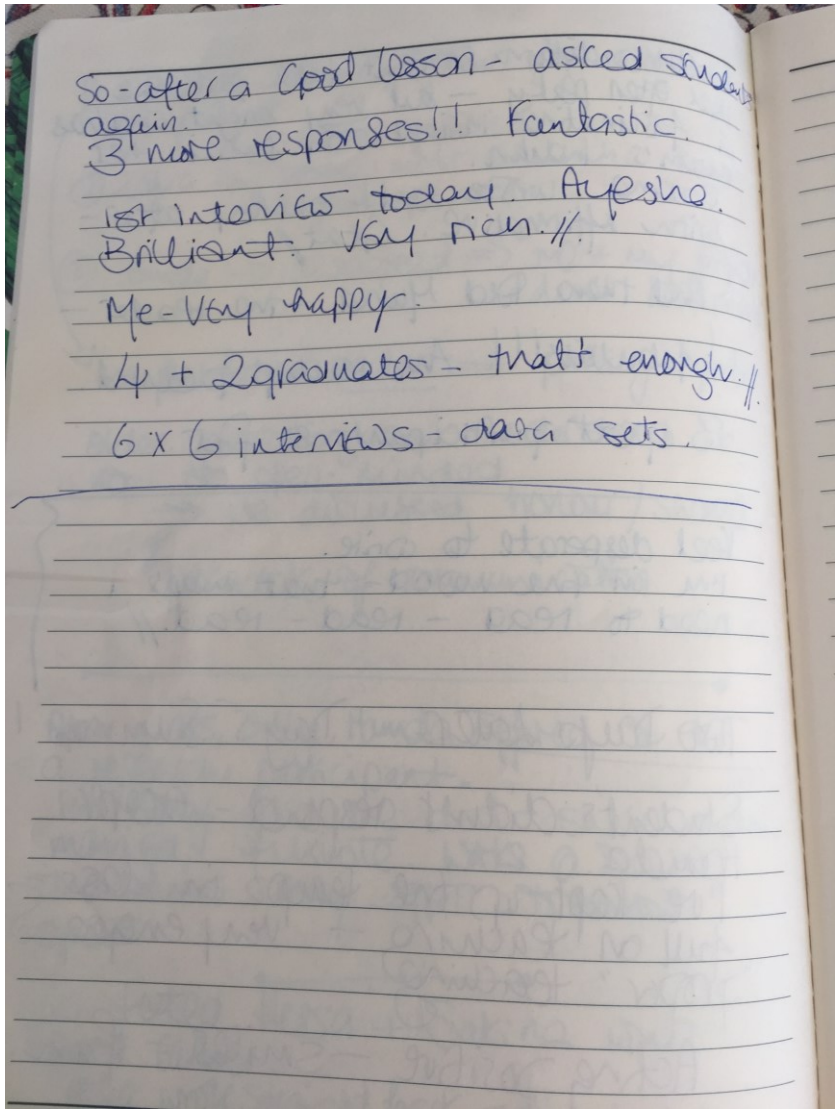
So touched Hessa + Sakina who offered earlier.
Hessa wrote straight back - she has a



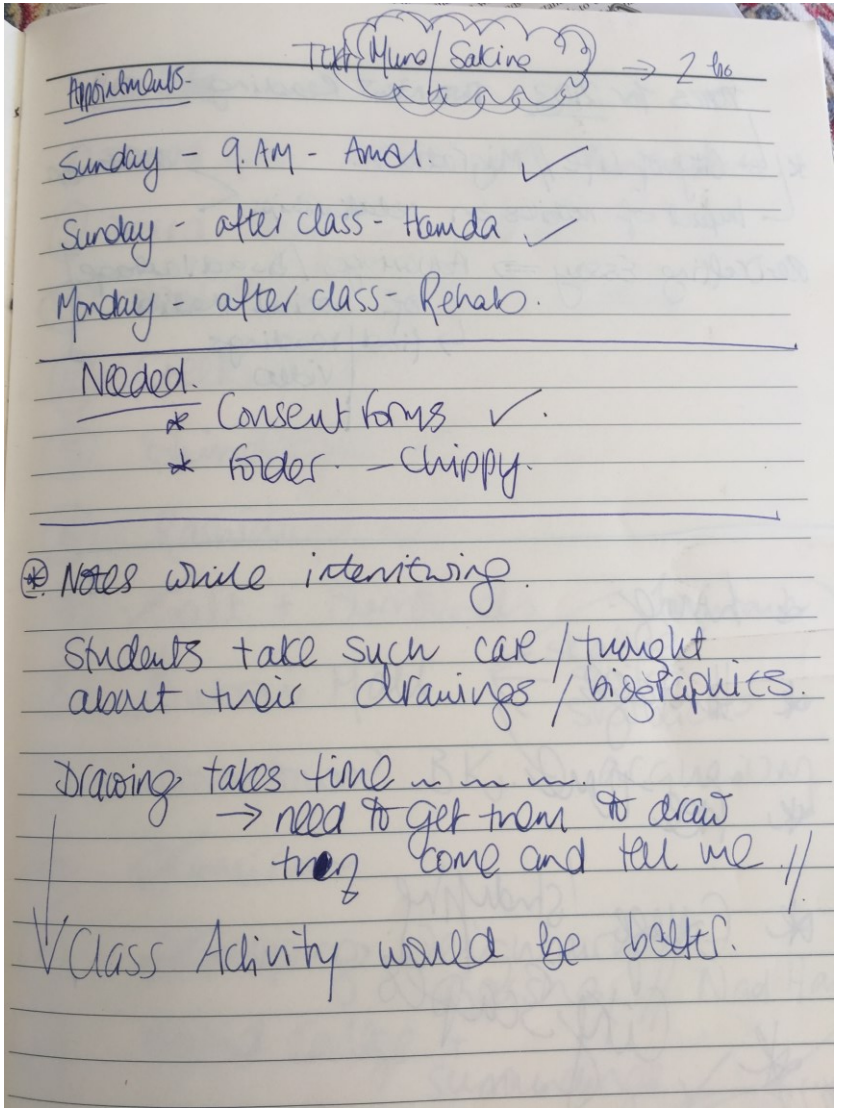
health condition so can't take part. She was often flaky – but very bright and has a fascinating insight on Dubai - her mum's Indian.
Sarina wrote back shortly after – with affirmative. Great!
And then Red Muna – the reader – fabulous!!! Am really pleased.
3 great participants so far.

Feel desperate to write.
I'm in the mood – that means I need to read – read – read.//

Two Days Later – Day 5 Summer!
Student's didn't respond – except Hamda.
I've kept up the tempo in class – full on teaching – very engaged "proper" teaching.
Acting positive – smiles – fun.



So – after a good lesson – asked students again.
3 more responses!! Fantastic.
1st interview today. Aqeshe. Brilliant. Very rich.//
Me – Very happy.
4 + 2 graduates – that'll enough.//
6 x 6 interviews – data sets.



Appointments - Thur Mins/Sakina → 2 hrs

Sunday - 9 AM - Amal. ✓

Sunday - after class - Hamda ✓

Monday - after class - Rehab.

Needed.

* Consent forms ✓.
* Folder - Chippy.

* Notes while interviewing.

Students take such care / thought about their drawings / biographies.

Drawing takes time ... → need to get them to draw then come and tell me //

V Class Activity would be better.

Ayesha.

City of Life / Journey.

IMPORTANT

13/6/2016 OBSERVATION

I was going to do photo-elicitation task with Handa today. However, S stuck @ immigration so I had to pick kids.

Handa said "oh, I'll get my husband to come"

AJ "what for?"

H "TO sign for the green card"

AJ "Don't you have one?"

H: "No, I'm PM, and usually we just go, but when you let me go early the other day, they wouldn't let me out until 1:00 PM when class finishes on the timetable"

AJ "But you're PM"

H "Yes, but they said if you are on Arts course you have to go by 'Arts rules!'"

still kicks in for married, working women. their use of space dictated by cultural rules as a form of control.

THOUGHTS

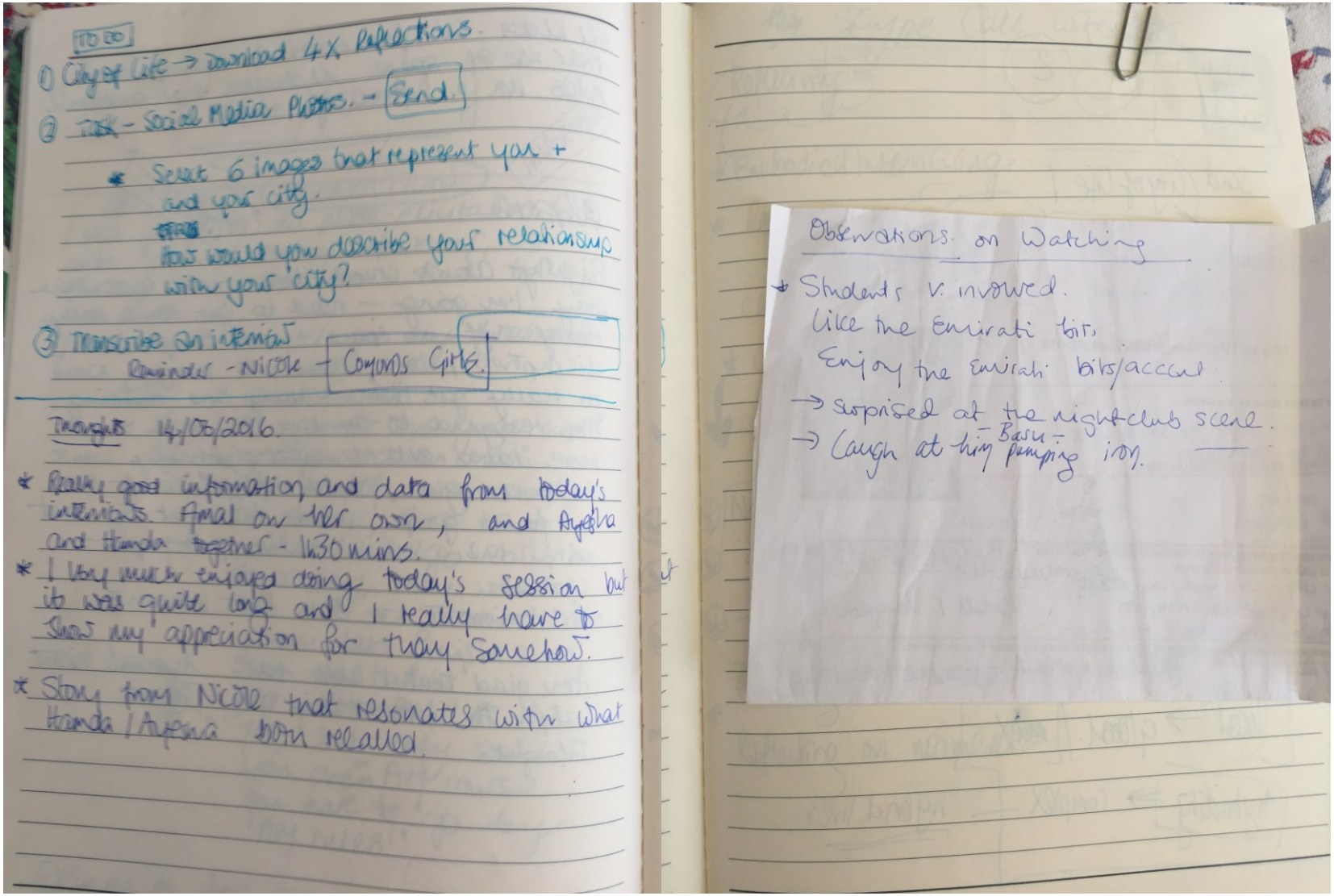
13/6/2016

Slightly at a crunch time — not sure which way I'm going — need to get some really meaty stuff on space — need to get the disruptive photos / ideas and thoughts. Need to really get them talking and thinking. Am resigned to thinking I'll have to get more data next semester, probably won't have enough. Would really like to do a focus group. Think I might try that with the social media photographs — choices.

So tomorrow → 3 x Photo Interviews.

Am glad that I also have Ayesha's sister Latifa interested in the project.

Thought



TO DO

① City of Life → download 4 x Reflections.

② ~~TASK~~ - Social Media Photos. → Send.

* Select 6 images that represent you + and your city.

~~TASK~~

How would you describe your relationship with your city?

③ Transcribe an interview

Ravinder - Nicole + Canons Girls.

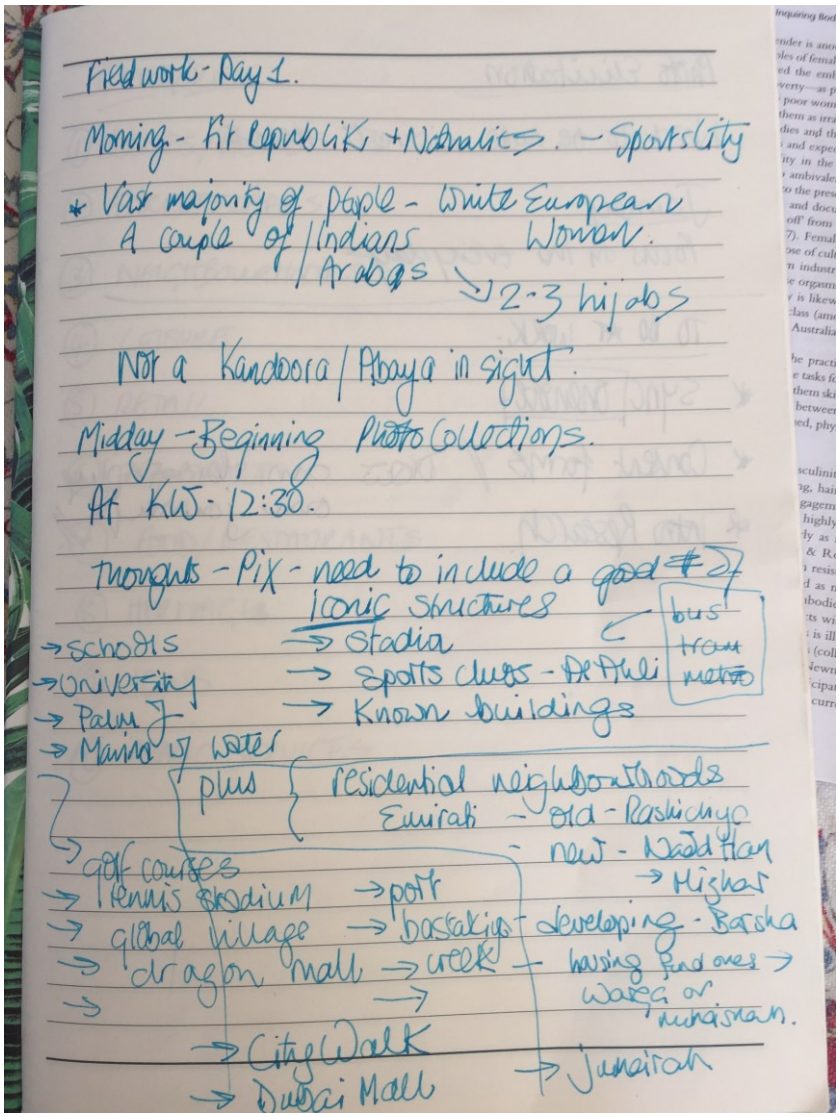
Thoughts 14/06/2016.

* Really good information and data from today's interviews. Amal on her own, and Aysha and Handa ~~together~~ - 1h30 mins.
* I very much enjoyed doing today's session but its was quite long and I really have to show my appreciation for them somehow.
* Story from Nicole that resonates with what Handa / Aysha both recalled.

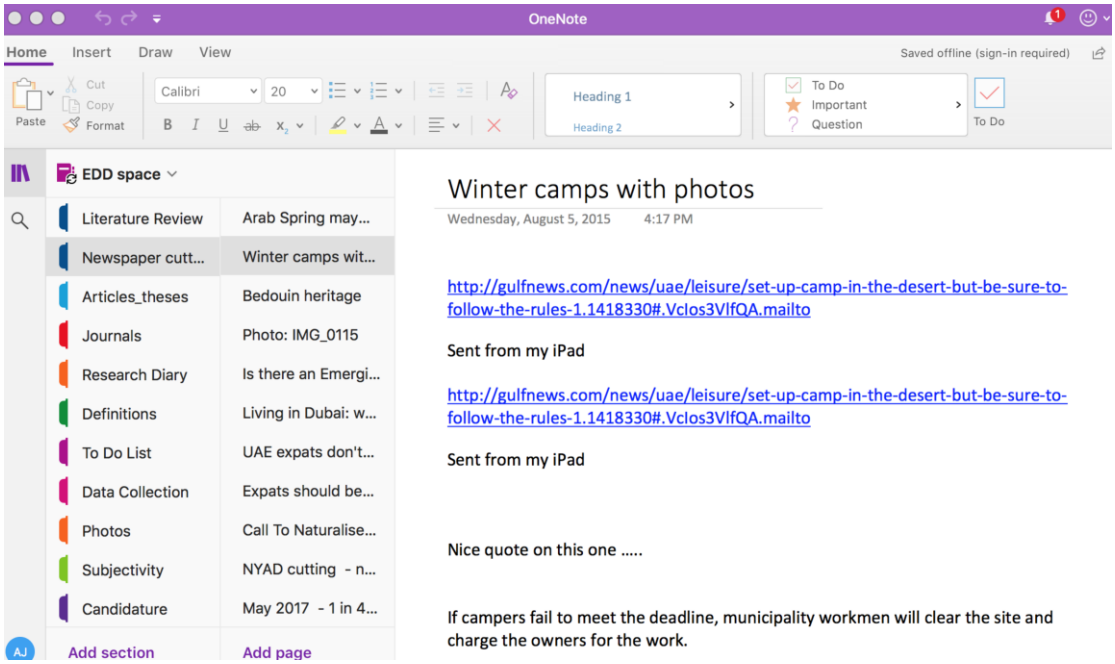
Observations on Watching

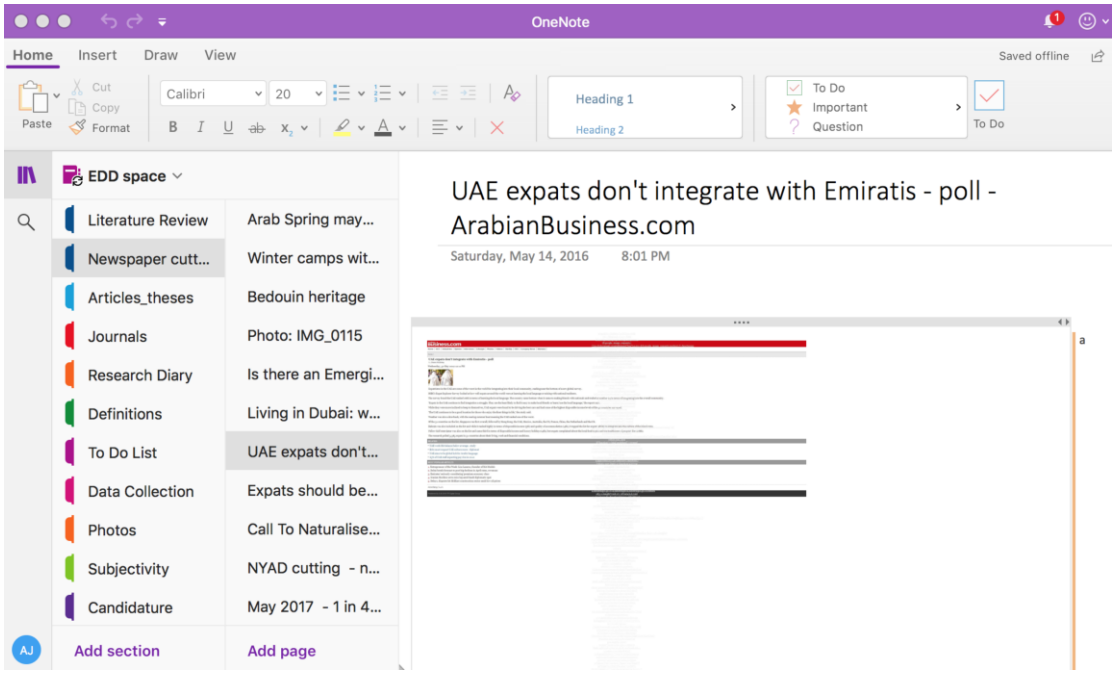
* Students v. involved.
  Like the Emirati bits.
  Enjoy the Emirati bits/accent.
  → Surprised at the nightclub scene.
  → Laugh at him ~~Basu~~ pumping iron.

Field Notes


Field work - Day 1.
Morning - Fit Republik + Nakheel - Sports City
* Vast majority of people - White European
A couple of Indians Women.
Arabs
2-3 hijabs
Not a Kandoora / Abaya in sight.
Midday - Beginning Photo Collections.
At KW - 12:30.
Thoughts - Pix - need to include a good # of
Iconic structures
bus
from
metro
→ schools
→ University
→ Palm
→ Marina
→ Stadia
→ Sports clubs - Al Ittihad
→ Known buildings
plus
residential neighbourhoods
Emirati - old - Rashidiya
- new - Nad Hassa
→ Hizhar
golf courses
→ Tennis Stadium
→ global village
→ dragon mall
→ port
→ bastakiya
→ creek
developing - Barsha
having find ones
Warqa or
Nahasnam.
→ City Walk
→ Dubai Mall
→ Jumairah

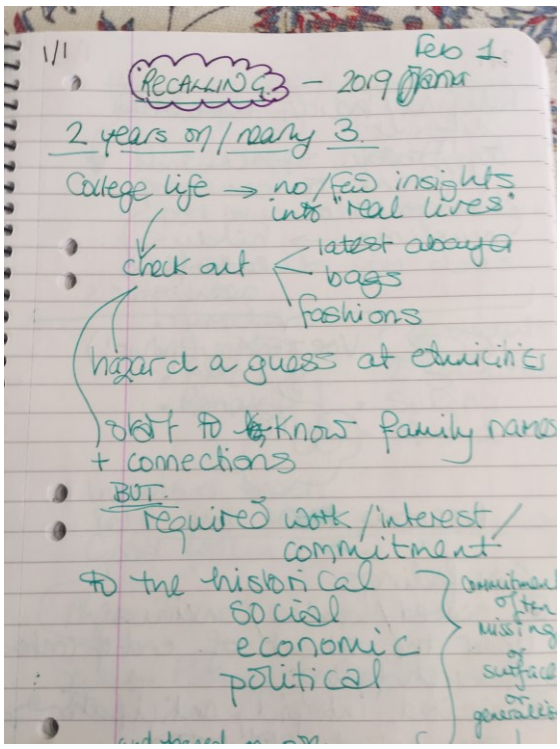
One Note - Newspaper Articles

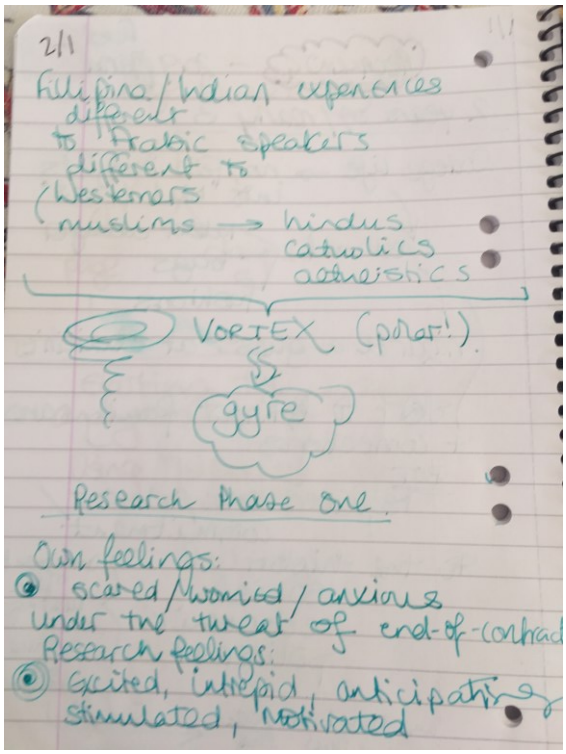


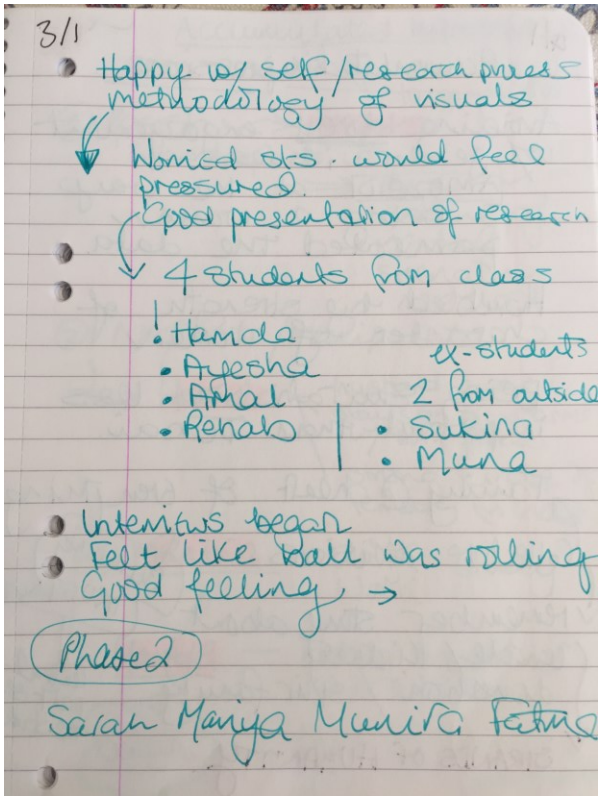


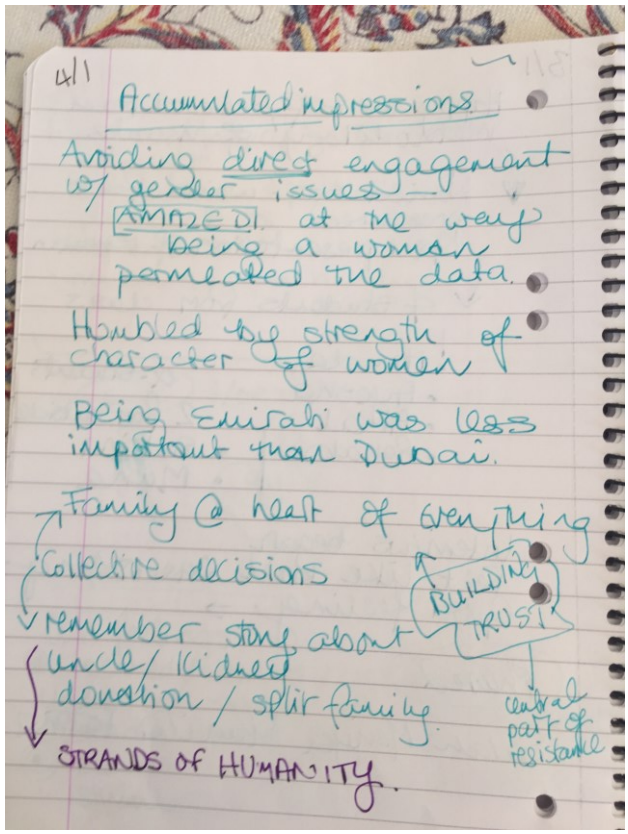
Appendix 9: Examples of Data Collection and Analysis

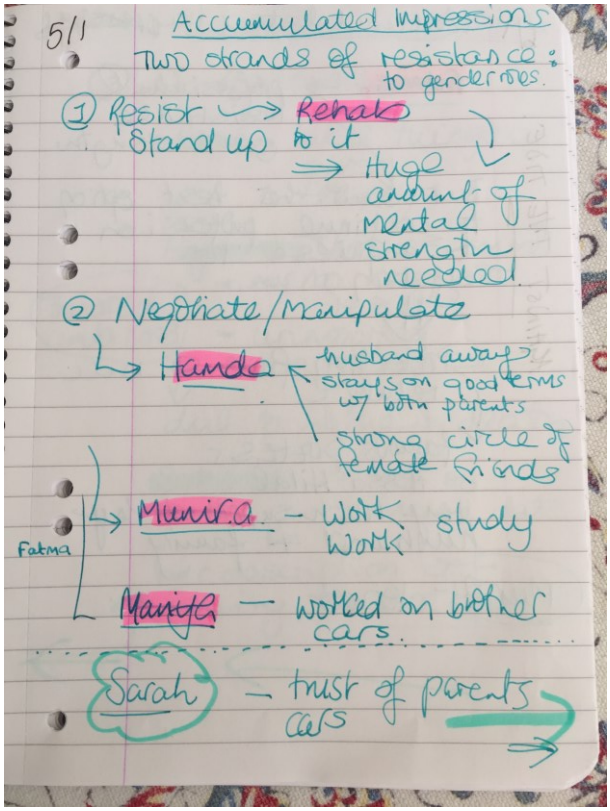
Stage A: Recalling

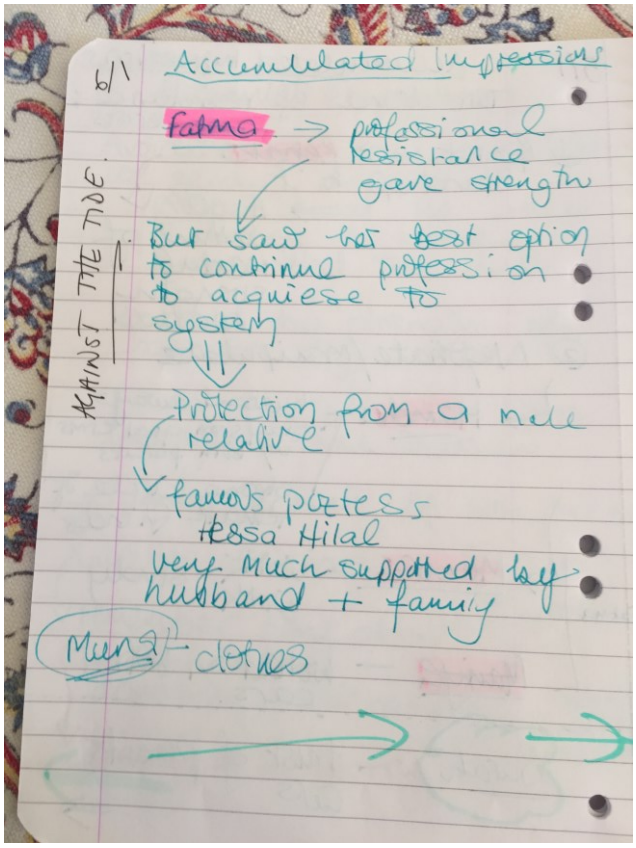


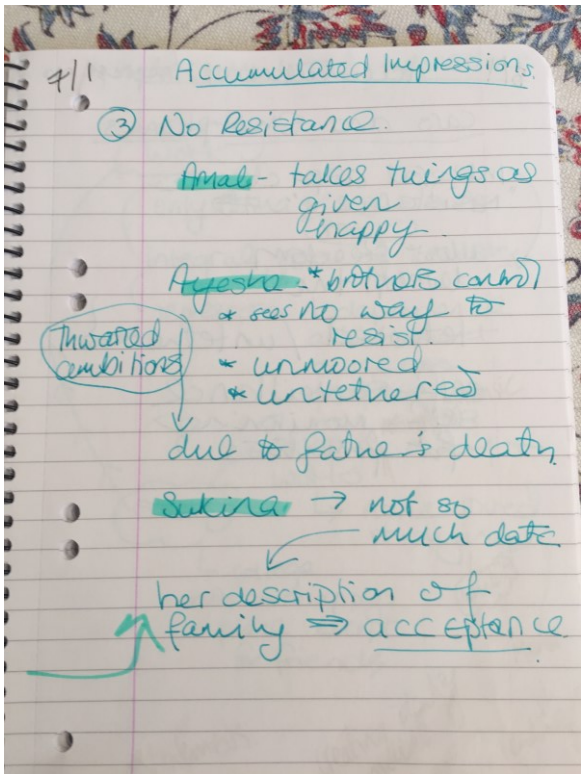


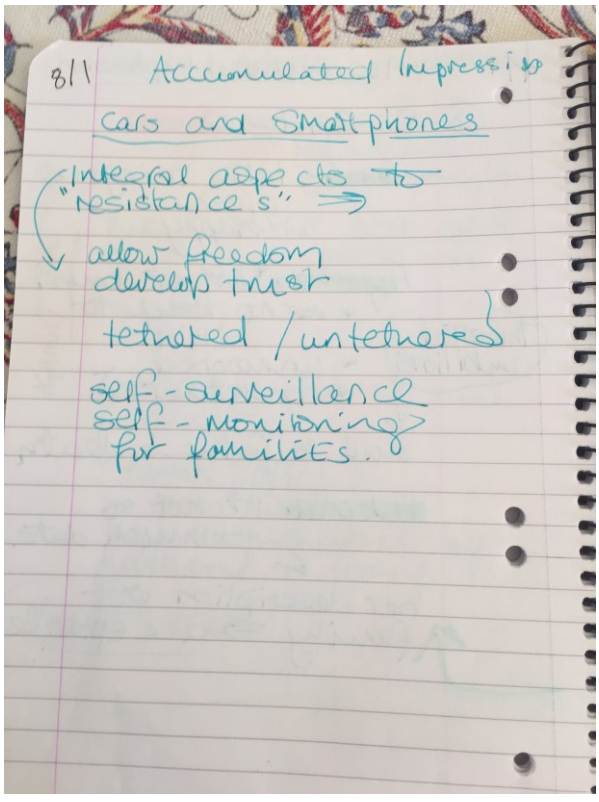


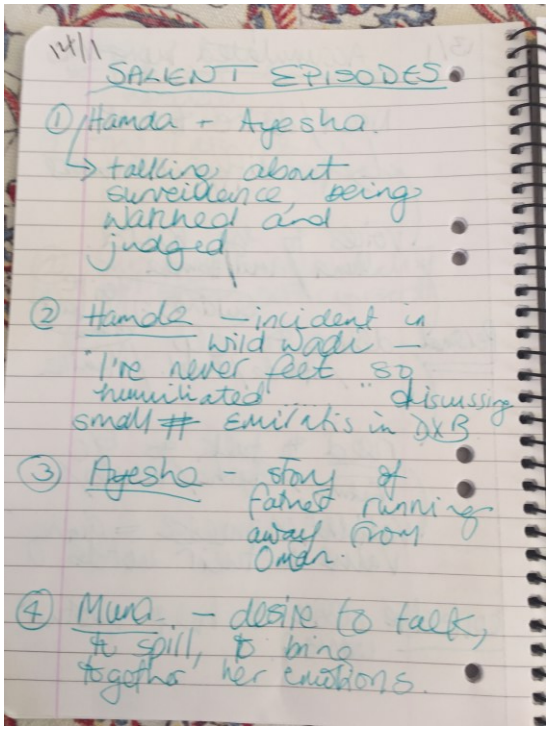


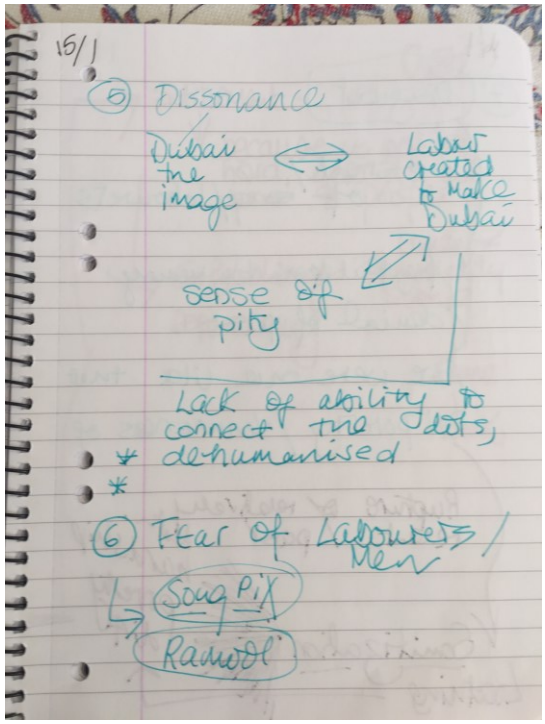

5/1 Accumulated Impressions
Two strands of resistance: to gender roles.
① Resist → Rehab
Stand up to it
⇒ Huge amount of mental strength needed.
② Negotiate/Manipulate
↳ Handa
husband away
stays on good terms w/ both parents
strong circle of female friends
Fatma
↳ Munira - work work study
Manijeh - worked on brother cars.
Sarah - trust of parents cars

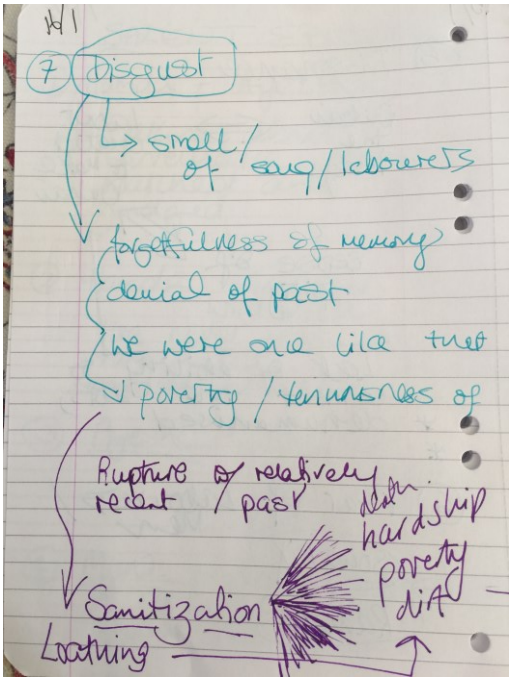

6/1 Accumulated Impressions
Fatma → professional resistance gave strength
AGAINST THE TIDE.
But saw her best option to continue profession to acquiese to system
||
Protection from a male relative
favors actress Hessa Hilal
very much supported by husband + family
Mums - clothes

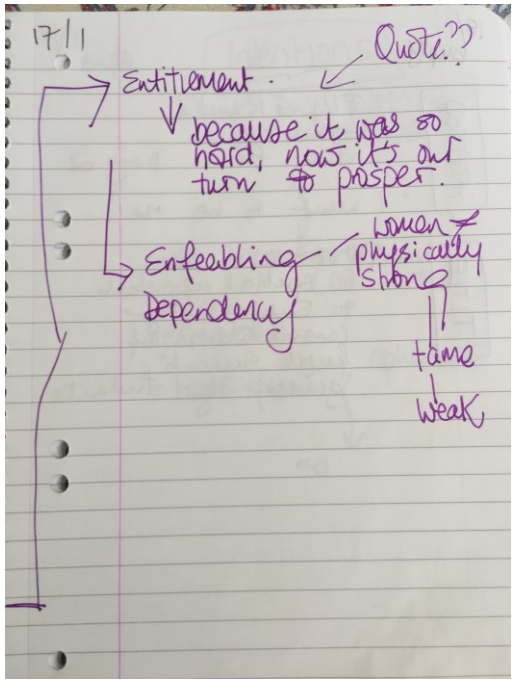

7/1 Accumulated Impressions
③ No Resistance.
Amal - takes things as given unhappy.
Ayesha - * brothers control
* sees no way to resist.
* unmoored
* untethered
Thwarted ambitions
due to father's death
Sakina → not so much data
her description of family ⇒ acceptance


8/1 Accumulated Impressions
Cars and Smartphones
Integral aspects to "resistance" ⇒
allow freedom develop trust
tethered / untethered
self-surveillance
self-monitoring
for families.

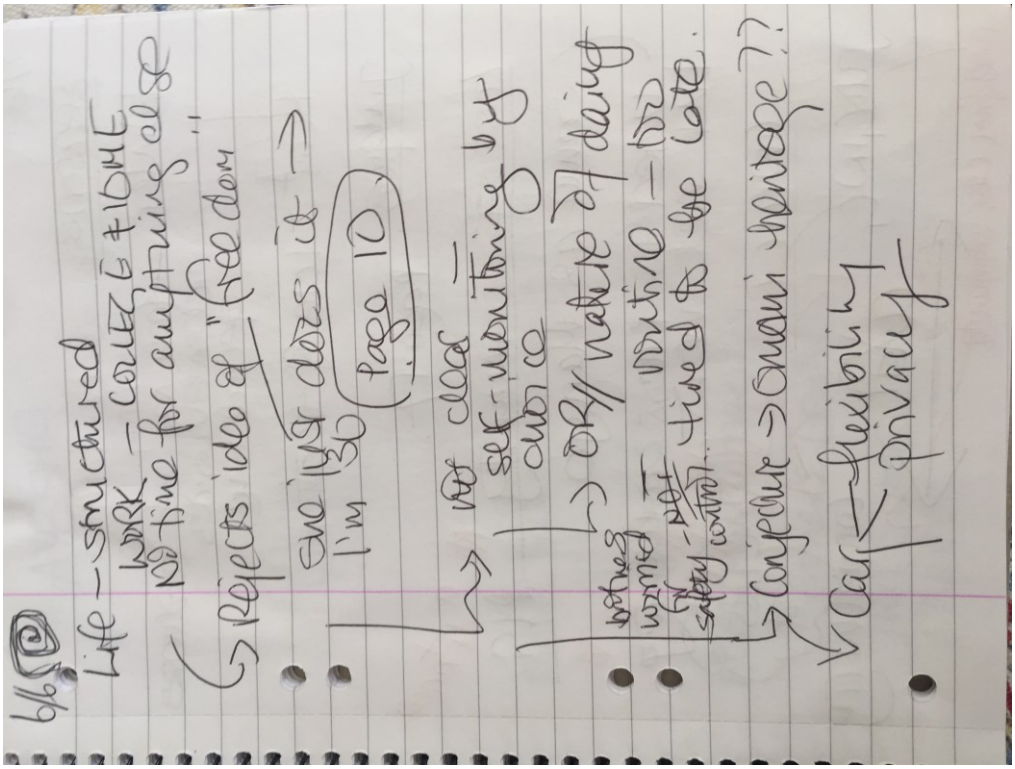

14/1
SALIENT EPISODES
① Hamda + Ayesha.
talking about surveillance being watched and judged
② Hamda – incident in Wild Wadi – "I've never felt so humiliated" discussing small ## Emiratis in DXB
③ Ayesha - story of father running away from Oman.
④ Mona – desire to talk, to spill, to bring together her emotions.

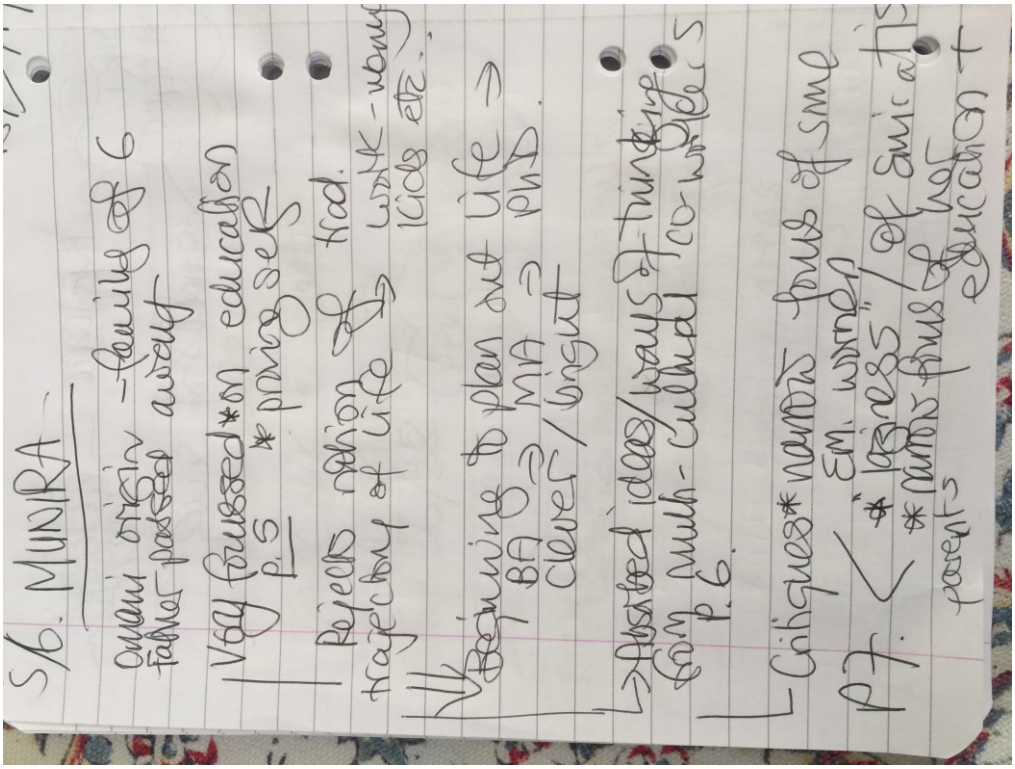

15/1
⑤ Dissonance
Dubai the image
Labour created to make Dubai
sense of pity
Lack of ability to connect the dots, dehumanised
⑥ Fear of Labourers / Men
Soug Pix
Ramool

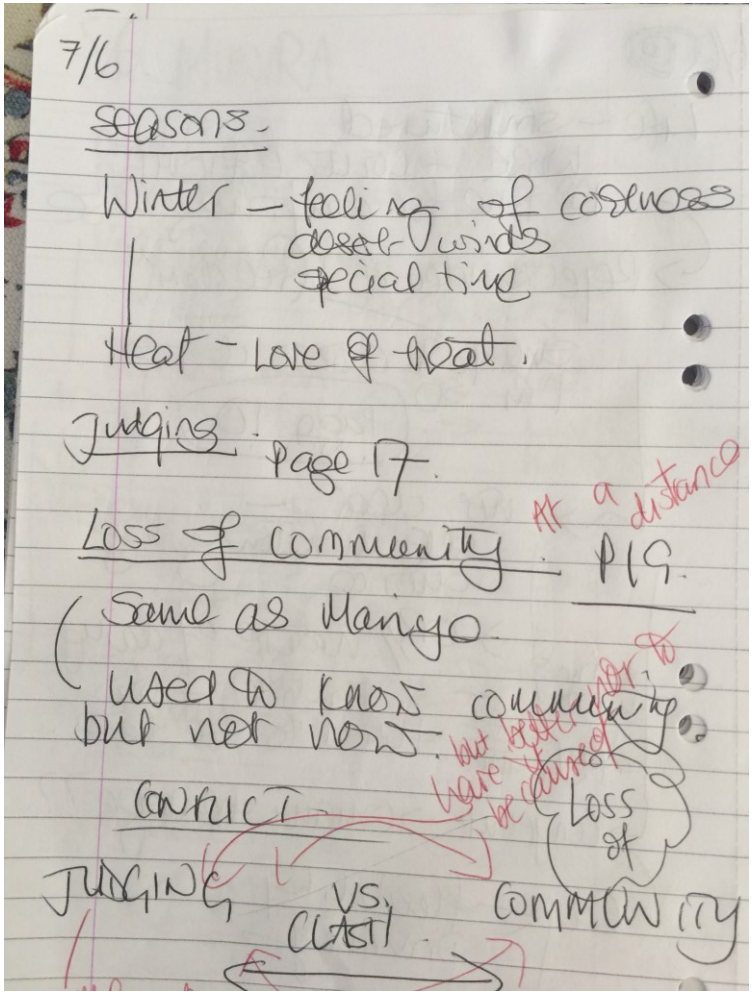

14/1
⑦ Disgust
smell / of soug / labourers
forgetfulness of memory
denial of past
we were one like that
poverty / remoteness of
Rupture of relatively recent / past
hardship
poverty
Sanitization
Loathing


17/1
Quote??
Entitlement.
because it was so hard, now it's our turn to prosper.
Enfeabling Dependency
women physically strong
tame
weak

Stage B: Listening Around - Transcriptions and Notes






7/6
Seasons.
Winter – feeling of coolness
cool winds
special time
Heat – love of heat.
Judging. page 17.
Loss of community. pg.
At a distance
(same as Mango.
used to know community
but not now.
but still have the chance to be connected
Loss of
CONFLICT
JUDGING
VS.
CLASH
COMMUNITY

Interview: Biography & Journey Map & Photos Participant: Maitha Date: 29th April 2017 Location: Caribou Café, Uptown Mirdif		
Speaker	**Transcript Part 1 Biography**	**Comments**
Aleya		
Maitha	In the beginning my father married my mum, this was his second marriage	
Aleya	Ah Ok	
Maitha	And there is a difference between ages, between my mother and my father around 20 years, my mum was very young at that time, she was sixteen years old, and my father was like in his forties maybe….	
Aleya	Was she a second wife?	
Maitha	Second wife…They got divorced because she couldn't have any kids	
Aleya	aha	
Maitha	And she is by the way er she was in Oman …you know originally my father was from Oman …she was..you know she passed away after my father …my father he passed away in 2005 and she passed away in 2006…we used to see them…we were visiting them…I don't know how my father, you know it was ok for him…she was his cousin	
Aleya	Ah…ok, but they decided to split when they couldn't have kids	
Maitha	Yes..but they had good relations….	
Aleya	That's the way it should be	
Maitha	They got three boys, three girls, I'm the youngest…number 6	
Aleya	Uh huh	
Maitha	Originally we are from Oman ..but my father he was a policeman and my mother she was a housewife…	
Aleya	Where in Oman are you from?	
Maitha	Muscat	
Aleya	Ah..directly from Muscat	
Maitha	He worked here…he didn't go to school ..he went to school when he was here..and he got his certificate until grade 5..	
Aleya	Ah…so not very high	
Maitha	No…and my mother…she didn't go to school …she doesn't know how to read and write…till now we read for her	
Aleya	Is she from Oman	
Maitha	Yes	
Aleya	Also from Muscat	

Maitha	Yes …ok..about our travelling, we never travelled outside the GCC…except once to India …just once in our life	
Aleya	Uhuh	
Maitha	Oman…we used to go to Oman every year to visit our relatives there..	
Aleya	Uhuh	
Maitha	We went to KSA like ….every two years we go for Umrah…when I was in High School, this was like a big shock in my life… I lost my father…	
Aleya	Mmmmm…	
Maitha	He had cancer…he went to Thailand for treatment ….but I think he was in a late…	
Aleya	Ah.. a late stage	
Maitha	yes	
Aleya	Did they catch it late?	
Maitha	Yes - they found it very very late…and yes. I was in High School…	
Aleya	Oh…that's a very bad time	
Maitha	Yes and like after two months I will take my High School Certificate…	
Aleya	Did it effect your exams? Or did you do alright?	
Maitha	Um…it was good…not excellent	
Aleya	But it was good enough	
Maitha	(Laughs) yes it was good enough…then I went to university …you know NIVE ….you know this?	
Aleya	Yes….one of my other research students she went to NIVE ..	
Maitha	But that didn't shaped my life…still	
Aleya	Why did you go here and not to the HCT?	
Maitha	Ah..Miss, you know…I think my family didn't support me…I don't think…that they see education as something important …my father wasn't tell me…he was saying you will go to university but he wasn't emphasise on that …and my mother was telling me..its up to you…if you like to go, go, if you don't, don't	
Aleya	Maybe because she hadn't had the experience of education herself, she didn't know what it could do…	
Maitha	Hmmm	
Aleya	What about your brothers and sisters?	
Maitha	All of them, they went to university, they are certified with bachelors and two of my brothers are doing their masters right now …	
Aleya	Oh really?	
Maitha	Yes…here in Dubai …I don't know where…British something …	

Aleya	AH the British University in Dubai in Academic City	
Maitha	My sister…by the way…my sister Buthaina…she is brilliant…she like you know..she went to HCT ..she was the fourth in her batch…but you know…I think because of our mum and dad…they were like …it's up to you	
Aleya	They didn't push you	
Maitha	Especially my Mum …she don't want anybody to push themselves for something if they don't want …so … ok I went to NIVE…but when I was there I realized it's not accredited…	
Aleya	Yes..it's just a Dubai one	
Maitha	After that …the same year I graduated from NIVE, I joined my working life … and when I joined work - that changed me ..I saw people they were getting educated, like they are, they like to study something which is unique…is hard, they see themselves as somewhere that is different from others…education was something I was to have done before, I recognized this, it was too late but it was not too late…	
Aleya	Yes, it was late but not too late…you can still catch up …where did you work?	
Maitha	I work in RTA	
Aleya	Are you still there?	
Maitha	Yes, this year I just completed 10 years, I joined 2008	
Aleya	What's your role?	
Maitha	Sorry – I mean 9 years….administrative…following up issues …I just have a view about the projects they are about to do it in Dubai …I am following up between the Chairman's office and our department	
Aleya	Do you like it?	
Maitha	Erm…not that much…because I think it's just a way to get money…Working life it's not just about getting money, you have to know yourself, what you like, what's your hobbies, what you want to become in the future…	
Aleya	uhuh	
Maitha	Erm…like government job…it's not yani…you will not stay there for your whole life …like you have to have something, like your own business, your own …something you do …you like it and you get money from it…	
Aleya	Like a passion	
Maitha	I just recognized this in this nine years ..I recognized that and so in 2013 erm…. I went to	

	HCT, to join the college again, to study, and they accepted me	
Aleya	So you're a PM student	
Maitha	A part-time student - they're always telling us this	
Aleya	Business	
Maitha	Yes, business, …I have seen in my work yes, Strategic and Quality Management …I have seen in my work that there are few locals with this, and I think in this field, in the next five years, they are focusing on Strategic and this is why I chose this Major	
Aleya	Because you can see opportunities	
Maitha	Yes…job opportunities …and yes..from work I am learning some Quality issues	
Aleya	Yes..it's good that you can apply it..the theory and the application	
Maitha	Yes…I think my life is still shaping …you know I see my life …when I start dealing with people of different ages …before you know when I am at NIVE I am just dealing with girls in my same age…	
Aleya	Yes, just girls all the same age	
Maitha	You know in working life, you will meet with different genders	
Aleya	Does that make a difference?	
Maitha	Yes	
Aleya	Do you think that there's a difference in the way the genders think?	
Maitha	YEs	
Aleya	Can you explain that to me?	
Maitha	Like most of the ladies here they are thinking of…even if they are certified…they are thinking that I will get my work, I will get married, I will get my kids and that's all..	
Aleya	Uhuh	
Maitha	I don't think that I have to do the same… you know, it's something for you, yani, you have to do something for your life , you have to do something that can support you to the end…maybe my marriage will not be success like the others	
Aleya	Hmmm	
Maitha	Others are just…you know this is our life Miss, you know we got it from something in our culture, like you know, we **have to get married…**you know I am 29, this year I become 30…this is something like, you know they see us and they think…this is something like they are shocked…you know I don't think this is it..you know just getting married and having kids… no I have to do something for my life, I	

	have to get a job, the best job, for something I see myself in, or I have my own job, or my own business something that I can rely on …I am still shaping myself, I am still in this stage…and in the future…shall I tell you	
Aleya	Yes, that would be great	
Maitha	I will draw it later, I don't see that I will stop at Bachelors, if I can I will go and do Masters, and even go for Phd	
Aleya	I'm sure you could	
Maitha	In this time I will have …in this ..here. people they are thinking about what you are wearing, about what is the type of your handbag, what car you are driving, this is not something necessary, if I have a like a good car and I can move from home to work, that's all , that's good, I don't hav to take like Mercedes,	
Aleya	Why do you think you think like this? In this way? You're quite different…what is it that makes you slightly different?	
Maitha	Because you know, in my work, I'm not dealing with people who are only local, you know I'm dealing with many nationalities, I saw Indian, I saw Egyptian, from Palestinian, from Jordan, and European, we have so many countries…you know Miss, they are like, when I saw them, because of their lives, they have a plan for themselves, and I saw myself just living without a plan..just like this	
Aleya	Like on a treadmill	
Maitha	(Laughs) Yes…like this	
Aleya	Is that what you mean? Walking but not going anywhere	
Maitha	I don't have a plan, I will go somewhere. You know there are people they are counting their, I don't know what you call it, you know when somebody resigns or leaves, they giving them some money	
Aleya	Ah yes…it's called a gratuity…	
Maitha	You know, they are counting like , if we worked here for ten years or twenty years, how much they will get at the end, how much they will need, mathalan, they are counting, after 6 years I will build my house, after 10 years I will think…you know I don't have this plan…and when I saw these people planning their lives, I thought why I'm not planning, why I don't have something for myself	
Aleya	Do you think that's something to do with being Emirati and the government helping you?	

Maitha	I think yeah…because lots of people here, because even the ladies here, what do you call it if their husband dies	
Aleya	A widow	
Maitha	Yes - if he dies the husband, then I can apply for a somewhere, for a house or for money …here the government is supporting but what if he weren't supporting me?	
Aleya	So do you think all that support shapes the mentality of people?	
Maitha	Some locals are become lazy, they don't have this, they don't plan for their lives, and this we have to learn our children, where they see themselves, what are their hobbies, we have education….but we when we were young we didn't go anywhere for learning something, to centres…for skills …even…I remember just once we went somewhere for Quran, never something else, like swimming, or riding horses, this was something like Ayeb, like you have to all the time, you have to be covered, how you do this in front of people, they were thinking like this Miss…nowadays parents have changed	
Aleya	Yes…I think so	
Maitha	My father, my mother, that time was horrible…I'm still shaping myself, I think my mind has changed as well because I have to see life from other aspects, it's not about a husband, kids and that's all..you have to do something for your life, you have to …what you call it when you be tired of something…like you get it after a long journey ….	
Aleya	Struggle, or fight for it,	
Maitha	Like your brothers and sisters, they won't stay with you for your whole life, so you have to do something for yourself	
Aleya	Do your sisters inspire you? You know, you said your sister Buthaina was brilliant…Is she a role model? Or did she take the easy path	
Maitha	No, you know, she studies and she got her work, but she's not that much …she's shy a little bit, that's barriering her…she's a little shy …that makes her stuck to Bachelors ..I think she could do better job and better education but it's her personality	
Aleya	She needs somewhere she can thrive with that personality	
Maitha	For me, working life, college have changed me a lot…becaseu before I joined HCT, at least one semester we had to do three presentations, I hated presentations, I hate to stand and everyone's looking at me…that changed me, now I can do	

	presentations even if I don't have that much information	
Aleya	It's interesting that you can learn presentations	
Maitha	And because of my English it's not that much	
Aleya	Your English is good	
Maitha	But if I get nervous I forget all the words	
Aleya	Oh that happens whatever the language is! Even in Arabic	
Maitha	What helps me aswell…is what I'm studying now in the college, I can see it in my working life – there is a connection…the things that I'm studying for Quality, I can see it in my work	
Aleya	That's really good, that's really helpful	
Maitha	When I see AM students I think, how can they do it, how can they connect it	
Aleya	Yes, that's why as teachers we often like to teach the PM students because they can make the link between the theory and the practice	
Maitha	I don't find time for myself, mathalan, I don't find time to go to the salon, or do exercise, but I'm really enjoying this part of my life!	
Aleya	That's really good	
	Interview 2 - Journey Map	
Aleya	This is Munira's journey map – it's very neat	
Maitha	Ok Miss, everyday in the morning, I'm living in Mirdif , at 6.30 or 6.15 and I drive to my office in Um Ramool, or some people they say Garhoud	
Aleya	Yes I know where it is	
Maitha	It's near your kids' school…I spend from 7.00 – 2.00 pm . Most of the time I spend it in my office,	
Aleya	Are you sitting?	
Maitha	Yes, all the time...this is something bad …usually we go for meetings, you know we have a small Caribou, I go to take my breakfast and sometimes, we have a restaurant and a small grocery , so this is on a daily basis…	
Aleya	Do you do this on your own, or with friends?	
Maitha	With my colleagues …I leave work at 2.00pm …my work is near my house, but sometimes it takes 20-25 minutes to get home.., because of the traffic, we are around a school area, it's too crowded…especially on Thursday	
Aleya	Yes, Thursday is the worst	
Maitha	So , yes, 20-25 minutes, I go back to take my lunch …around 3.15 or 3.20 I leave to go for college	
Aleya	Who lives with you at the moment? You and your Mum?	
Maitha	Me, Mum, two of my sisters and one of my brothers	

Aleya	So a lot of people in the house	
Maitha	Yes…so this is on a daily basis…er, I leave home and go to college and I spend from 4.00pm to 7.30 there, if I have any college work, I stay till like 10 oclock but that's not on a daily basis, that's like maybe four or five times a semester..	
Aleya	uhuh	
Maitha	That's for daily basis, now for weekly basis, grocery shopping that's a must ..on Friday morning I go to Carrefour	
Aleya	Is that alone, or with your mum?	
Maitha	With my mum or my sister…we buy our stuff for a week..	
Aleya	I'm the same…actually, I buy for a month!	
Maitha	For a month, we buy like soap and stuff, for a weekly base, we buy fruits and stuff	
Aleya	yes	
Maitha	Mostly we go to to Carrefour, sometimes to Etihad Mall and sometimes to Lulu in Arabian Centre…weekly I might go for salon	
Aleya	So you're not one of those people who goes once a week	
Maitha	Actually I should shift it to monthly, I don't go once a week..	
Aleya	She's rubbing it out and changing its place on the map….	
Maitha	Oh…and I forgot one thing for the daily…after college I go walking in Mirdif, in the neighbourhood, like for 30 minutes, I don't find the time to go across to the track… you know before I was at the university I was going to the gym,	
Aleya	Oh…do you miss it	
Maitha	Oh yes…but I'll go back For once a month I meet friends, we might go for the cinema or a restaurant or somebody's house, for a change	
Aleya	Are these friends you met from work, from school, from family?	
Maitha	From school and sometimes from college…I go sometimes shopping with my sisters…and sometimes we go shopping [with friends]…	
Aleya	Are you a big fan of shopping?	
Maitha	No…not that much (laughs)…you know on a daily basis I don't have much time…I just want to stay at home and we visit relatives, maybe once a month	
Aleya	Where, here in Dubai? In Oman?	
Maitha	Yes, here in Dubai, you know since my father passed, so many of my relatives they passed	

	now…so now we go maybe every two years we go to Oman…not like before	
Aleya	Uhuh	
Maitha	Once a year, we go …for Umrah	
Aleya	That's nice	
Maitha	And then in Ramadan, we walk to the mosque,	
Aleya	Is it the one near to Al Jadeed Bakery?	
Maitha	Yes	
Aleya	Is it nice?	
Maitha	Yes,	
Aleya	And there's lots of space	
Maitha	Yes, just at the end of Ramadan it gets crowded	
Aleya	Ah ok	
Maitha	This is my life, weekly, monthly, yearly	
Aleya	It seems to me, that compared to some other girls I've interviewed, you seem quite free	
Maitha	Mmmmmm	
Aleya	You kind of do what you want to do	
Maitha	mmmm	
Aleya	And there's no one restricting your movements	
Maitha	You know we are all adults, I'm the youngest, I'm 30 years old, and the others are older than me	
Aleya	Your brothers they never say anything	
Maitha	Ah, but I never come late…like till 10.00pm otherwise they will call me, where are you? like something bad happens	
Aleya	Yes…but still I've spoken to some students your age who do seem to be more restricted in what you can do	
Maitha	Even if I have free time, I don't like to be late	
Aleya	It's not only about being late…it's about free….(cuts me off)	
Maitha	You know I have a busy day, I have to sleep early, otherwise I'll sleep at work	
Aleya	Not a good idea…so you drive…does that make a big difference to your life	
Maitha	Yes…because to have a driver or to take a taxi, it costs a lot,	
Aleya	And it give you flexibility….it's interesting because when I first came here, most of the girls they didn't drive, maybe they had a driver, or their parents would drop them	
Maitha	Hmmm… and especially in winter, when I finish college, sometimes I walk to Carrefour from our house and I buy some small things…that my mum needs it and you know its' nice Miss…especially when we have nice weather but in the summer……	
Aleya	Yes…it's even getting a bit hot now ….	

	Thank you	
	Interview 3 Photo Elicitation	28 mins
Aleya	We're on interview 3…the photos so we're looking at the photos…this is the first one, N1 what does it make you think or feel when you see this picture	N1 big houses Jumeiarah
Maitha	Hmmmm…big houses it doesn't make any …but when I see…I think of rich people inside…..	
Aleya	What does that make you think?	
Maitha	Nothing…it doesn't affect me	
Aleya	What about these?	Building houses
Maitha	These are smaller…you know our home it was a little like …this one…smaller… we have like two ….what you call it	
Aleya	Floors?	
Maitha	Yes…. We had two floors but now we make this one, because of my mum, the new one, we make it like one floor…it's in Oud Al Muteena	
Aleya	Oh you're there	
Maitha	We were in Mirdif…then we left it to build this one to Oud al Muteena and then we came back to Mirdif ..you know this house needs maintenance and then we need to build this one This is like …it seems like before when I was a child	Old houses in Rashidiya – 2 villas
Aleya	And how does that make you feel…do you have good memories of that?	
Maitha	Yes….we had a big ….what you call it …a free space… we were playing every afternoon…..we had a big space ….not every afternoon …you can see all the family members outside	N 3
Aleya	Yes… we didn't seem to spend as much time inside	
Maitha	Yes…for afternoon tea especially…. You can see all the family members outside for afternoon tea	
Aleya	I don't' know if you know where this is….	
Maitha	Hmmmm (laughs) …this is like places where local people were living and then they left it….for rent ….this is like …groceries in neighbourhoods, we used to walk and buy some candies and go back home..	
Aleya	Are those good memories?	
Maitha	Yes…they are good ….	
Aleya	It's in Rashidiya ….this is nowadays ….well this is all nowadays, but it reminds you of the past!	
Maitha	This it shows how restaurants have changed…the idea about the restaurant – about trucks	
Aleya	Yes…they can move from place to place ..it's an emirati lady who owns it…	

Maitha	It's in Jumeirah Miss	
Aleya	Yeah..do you go there…its called Kite Beach in English ..	
Maitha	It's the same …Kite Beach … I go…but you know because of the time and you know the traffic	
Aleya	Yeah..it restricts you a bit	
Maitha	You know the same as this ideas they have opened here in Khawaneej	
Aleya	Really?	
Maitha	Yes…Last Exit…they recently opened it in Khawaneej…opposite the walking track	
Aleya	This next one, because you're a Mirdif person, I don't think its going to mean much	
Maitha	Oh..no I know this one, it's Mercato…I know it ..it means shopping shopping shopping	
Aleya	Which is good or bad?	
Maitha	No…it's good…because you know I don't usually go there, you know it's like once or twice a year I go there…it's too far away places …it means shopping all the way	
Aleya	This is Dubai Mall	
Maitha	Mmmmm…Dubai Mall..this is where you can meet friends, where you can have lunch, where you can go shopping and go to the cinema…you can do many things here….for me it's a place to make friends The beach…it's for changing…you know ..it's when you don't want to be in a closed area and now you are in an open area..i like this Miss	
Aleya	Is it positive?	
Maitha	Yes….very positive	
Aleya	These are tourist places	
Maitha	Yes…touristic…modern and old at the same time, I don't usually go there, because these things I'm used to seeing it ..	
Aleya	What do you mean…I used to see it?	
Maitha	I mean I have a background about these things…if I want to see it I won't go to Madinat Jumeirah …I won't go there…I think this place is crowded (pauses to take a call) Sorry Miss … If I want to see this place, I will go, you know , like to Shindagha..do you know it	
Aleya	Yes, there's a photo somewhere..so you prefer to see the real thing	
Maitha	Yes.. this is where tourists are going…	
Aleya	What about the hotels in Dubai? Do you ever go?	
Maitha	No…never	

Aleya	Is there any reason?	
Maitha	I think I am living in Dubai, why should I go?	
Aleya	Good thinking…what about the desert? Do you go here?	
Maitha	Oh…the desert…this makes me think of winter, winter, winter…you know this is the only time we go to the desert…	
Aleya	Oh…so you go to the desert…	
Maitha	Yes a lot	
Aleya	Who do you go with ?	
Maitha	I go with my family?	
Aleya	Do you have a camp there?	
Maitha	No, no, we just go to the desert and have lunch there, and maybe we cook there…and in the afternoon, then we'll come back	
Aleya	Like a day trip, a picnic …is it a good feeling?	
Maitha	Yes…it's a good feeling…	
Aleya	Can you describe that feeling more?	
Maitha	You know it's to do with the weather…we only see it for maybe two months in a year…actually I'm a summer girl…I can adjust myself with the hot weather more than the cold…the too cold weather I hate it, but when it's sunny I like it I never tried this one by the way..the ski, the water park…but this one, Wild Wadi, it reminds me of the summer, and you know they give offers…for people in the summer,	
Aleya	Yes, and for ladies , but someone told me it's too dark	
Maitha	Hmm, but I don't like the places that are only for ladies, but you know that doesn't mean anything for me	
Aleya	(Faffs about) Oh…this one should mean lots to you, it's all about your work!	
Maitha	Oh, the metro, the tram the busses…oh..it doesn't mean anything to me..it means work…feeling bored	
Aleya	When you see Dubai, as a city, the buses, trams, metro, airport, roads…how does that make you see this …as a resident of the country…cos you know, you don't see this in the Arab world, or in the Gulf? Does it make you feel special?	
Maitha	Yes, it makes us feel special but for me it doesn't make me feel anything because I don't use it…sometimes I feel I want to use it…why don't I get benefit from it…because it's cheap as well….I could drive to Rashidiya metro station and take the train to Mall of the Emirates and coming back by this	

	one…but you know, we are used to privacy, to having privacy…we don't like places which are crowded..but you know it doesn't mean… it's something good, we have some Filipini ladies who used to use this, and it's clean you know…you know I have used it once you know but for a trip, not for using it..I love this life you know… using these things which are available…	
Aleya	These are just some, hospitals and clinics	
Maitha	I hate this…especially this - Dubai Hospital - …it's bad memories…it's where my father passed away …	
Aleya	Hmm..it's where my husband's father passed away too	
Maitha	Especially the 10th floor, I don't like hospitals, I don't like it …even if I have to go there, it's a duty, I don't like it	
Aleya	Is your Mum healthy?	
Maitha	yes	
Aleya	That's good - Hamdillah	
Maitha	Ah…this is nice Miss, I love this places with trees… I love open areas, you know because I work in a closed area, I'm always telling my brothers to take their kids to open areas where they can express their feelings there	
Aleya	Yes, I think we need it	
Maitha	Ah…this is college… I love it and I hate it…I love it because it changed me…and it's the one where I am learning for free and I hate it because …you know…in the morning we have to go to work and then in the afternoon we have to go to college and I hate it because it's a must, it's a routine…but I love it more than I hate it…an education it's good…and it will stay like memories…. No…this I hate it…industrial areas…I hate it	
Aleya	Why do you hate it?	
Maitha	It's crowded and once I drove by mistake there and I got stuck in traffic there and it's one way and you cannot just go out if you stuck there..I hate this place And this one, it's an under construction area…a shopping mall is coming	
Aleya	Yes…could be	
Maitha	Or a new….	
Aleya	When you see people like this…what do you think?	
Maitha	Oh…they break my heart…because they are working a lot and spending time under the sun and …	
Aleya	This one's similar	

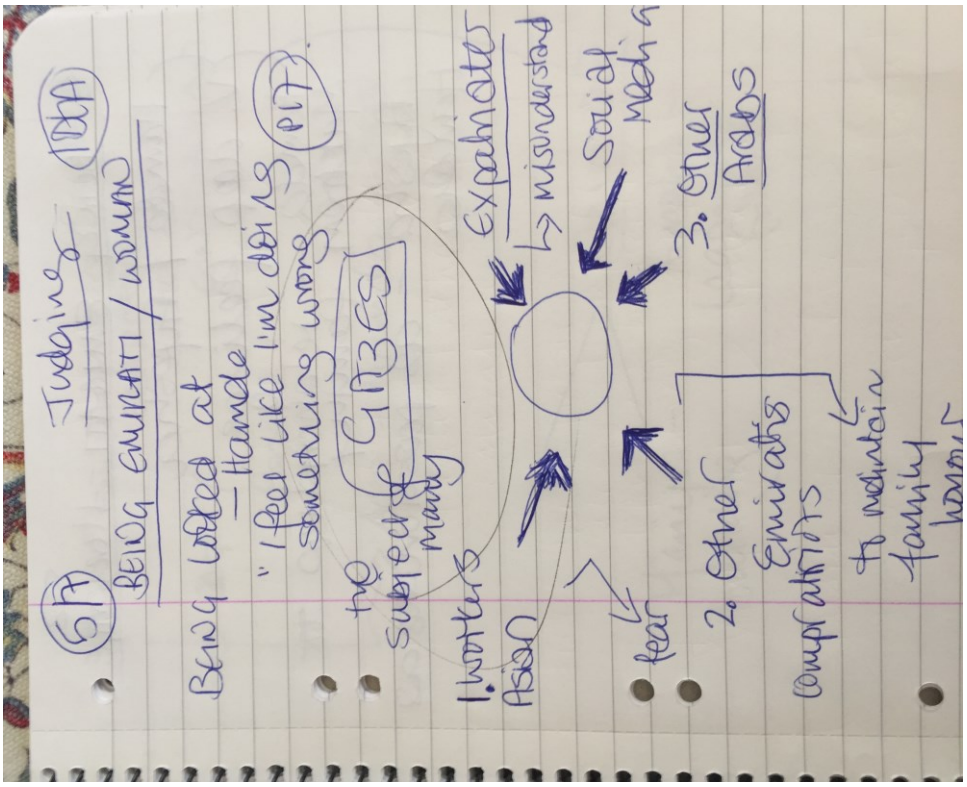
Maitha	Ahh yeah… Ahh…This is the old souqs	Nothing to say on construction by airport Move on to old souq
Aleya	This is Deira souq	
Maitha	I think this is nice Miss, I think when you go there, you find things you don't find it anywhere else…	
Aleya	Do you go there?	
Maitha	yes	
Aleya	What for?	
Maitha	Spices, things, if you have Mathalan, if you have friends, you go with them, it's nice especially in winter, in summer I don't go there..it's nice to take the kids..the kids these days…you know when we were kids, we went to like these places…nowadays, our kids they souq is shopping malls,	
Aleya	Yes…my kids they hate this	
Maitha	Really	
Aleya	Yes, they don't like coming here…they say I want to go to MCC	
Maitha	This is where ….old Dubai?	
Aleya	Yeah, Deira …	
Maitha	Because the souq, before we had to go past this area	Downtown Deira
Aleya	Oh this area …	
Maitha	It's next to the college …I hope I'll never live in this palce..it's too small…	
Aleya	Too small too crowded?	
Maitha	Yes, you know it's just a living room and khalas!	
Aleya	Yes…is your house big?	
Maitha	Yes, plus we have an area outside where they can sit	
Aleya	Yes, some families they have that and they like that ..but others' they don't mind	
Maitha	It's not that big…but we have it…it's a must to have a living room and a separate majlis…	
Aleya	Separate for the boys or for the visitors	
Maitha	For the visitors …I think you must have seen this in your families' house, your relatives	
Aleya	Actually no, they don't have this, in my mother-in-laws house they don't have	Aleya wrong… they do have this
Maitha	Really…	
Aleya	Not so much…but they don't have very big houses	
Maitha	This is	
Aleya	This is Zayed Road	

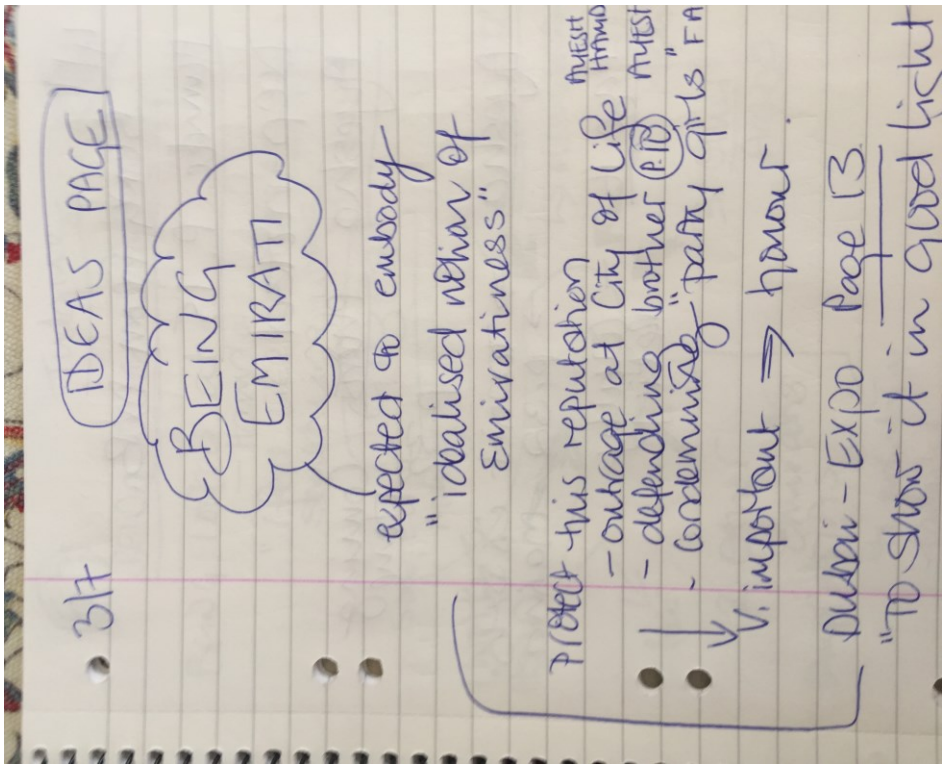
Maitha	This is between old and new …see this one, this is in Safa, this is the water tower and that's the new area, that's the new Dubai	
Aleya	So when you see the old Dubai, next to the new Dubai, what do you think? Are you happy about the way it's gone?	
Maitha	Yes….I'm happy where are we now…but when I see the old buildings …I feel like ahhhh, I miss those days	
Aleya	Ah - this is more of the same….	
Maitha	This I feel like…but you know I never went inside Burj Khalifa …	
Aleya		
Maitha	This is where you can see the difference now …like people we went to go for Old Souq and now we can see that people they're more familiar with brands and they are just going to say which is xxxx and which is xxx and I don't think this is a good thing …sometimes people judge people by, they are judging because what you are wearing, what you have…	
Aleya	Mmm…it's true, people judge a lot here in this country	
Maitha	That's what I hate….this again it's the old areas …you know Miss, I'm dying to call somebody from this telephone…	
Aleya	I don't know if they still work!!	
Maitha	Yes they do…but you have to have a special card, but somebody told me that if you have a Nol card, it works with it…one Egyptian lady she told me this, but I don't know if it's true	
Aleya	That's clever	
Maitha	Errr….before we used to have the one which you put coins in it and then it came the card…once I heard that you can call the police or ambulance for free…I'm dying to call someone from this	
Aleya	We used to have one near the library	
Maitha	Yes Because at that time the girls, the ladies, we didn't have mobiles, so how would they contact their families …and you know the other one I want to try is that one in London, you know where you close the door…	
Aleya	They don't have many of those now, they're closing them all down	
Maitha	Why?	
Aleya	Everyone has mobiles!	
Maitha	But they have to keep it	
Aleya	I think they keep it for tourists …in London	

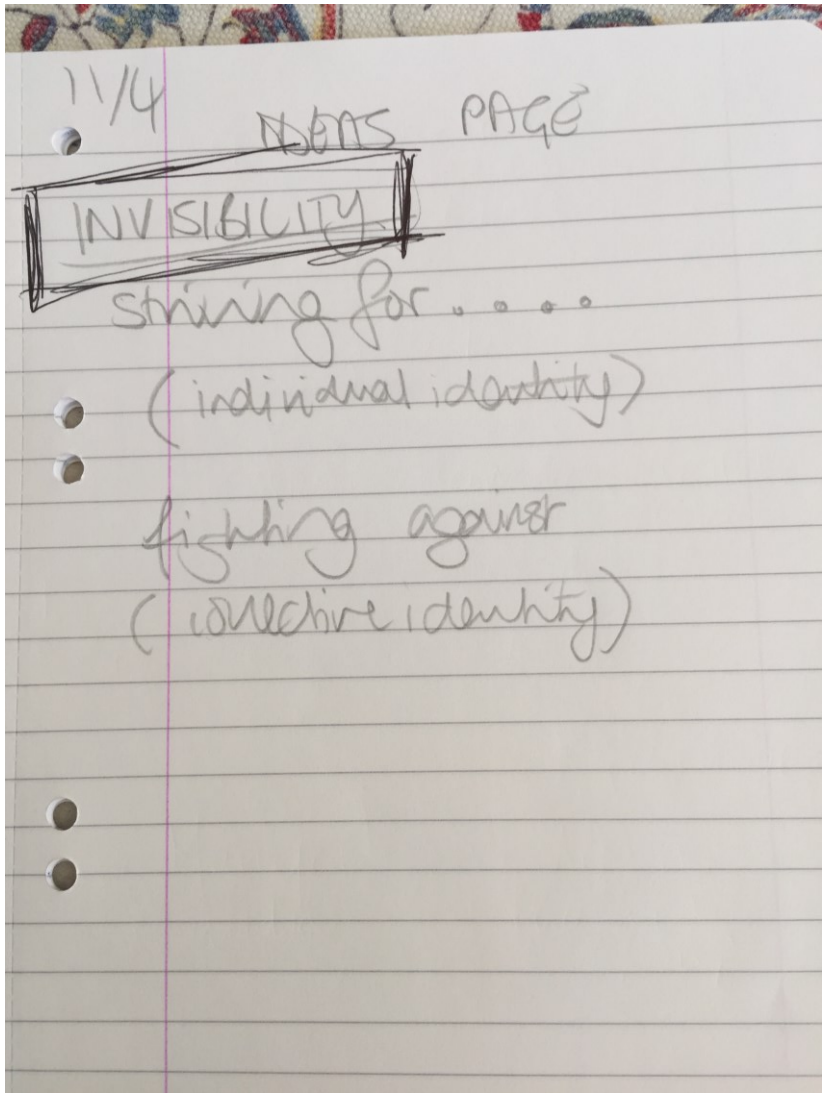
Maitha	This is Marina, Marina you know it reminds me of two Yacht trips I had it…for two times we spent two hours on a boat….it cost like 600 and we went on a tour …it was nice	
Aleya	Would you live over here?	
Maitha	No, I am not live near to the sea, because of the humid…	
Aleya	I think we're down to the last three here…they're all heritage ones	
Maitha	I like this …when you see this…you feel like ….oofff …I didn't live somewhere like this but I like to see it …with the trees…	
Aleya	Do you think Dubai has lost something? When you think what the past was?	
Maitha	I think …the houses how it was, how they look like , the people they were, like Rashidiya, so many locals they were living here, and now they are leaving these houses for rent and this is I think….I know they are leaving because they are big families but this is I think…I think you don't have to leave your house, you don't have to leave your house..it gives you so many memories	
Aleya	So do you think that when they were in these houses, there was a greater sense of community?	
Maitha	Hmmm….	
Aleya	So now, do you know your neighbours?	
Maitha	Er no, actually no…only few of them who are local, some of them are Indian, some are British, some are…. You know we don't contact them and if they walk past, we just maybe say hi, if we see them but we don't contact them. Before, we know everyone in this area, if someone passed (Sidaway) and where is Shamsa's house, mathalan , in this area, opposite to the grocery for example, before we know each other, now we just want to keep with themselves in this house only, without contact with other people	
Aleya	Is this a good thing?	
Maitha	No….because sometimes you want to see someone, you know we used to have neighbours, we used to visit them…they come to us	
Aleya	Is this in Mirdif?	
Maitha	No, in Oud Al Muteena, where you know people the same nationality as you …but here no….	
Aleya	I think even in Mizhar now	
Maitha	Yes..they know each other but they don't visit	
Aleya	I think a lot of it is because they have these big walls	
Maitha	Mmmmm	

Aleya	I'm not a big fan of walls	
Maitha	This is the creek in Deira …yani…it reminds me of childhood	
Aleya		
Maitha	This is maybe where locals they lived and they left!	
Aleya	End Interview Here	

Stage C: Close Reading – Notes and Ideas



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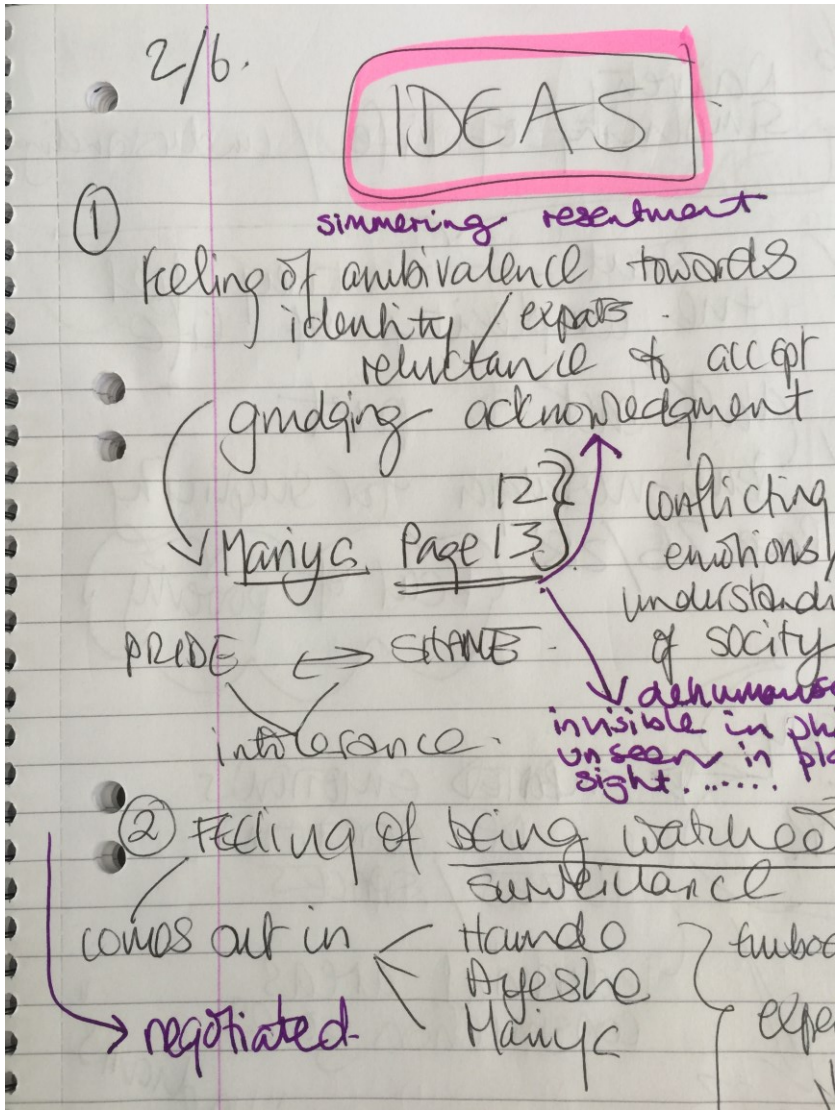
NOTES PAGE
INVISIBILITY
striving for....
(individual identity)
fighting against
(collective identity)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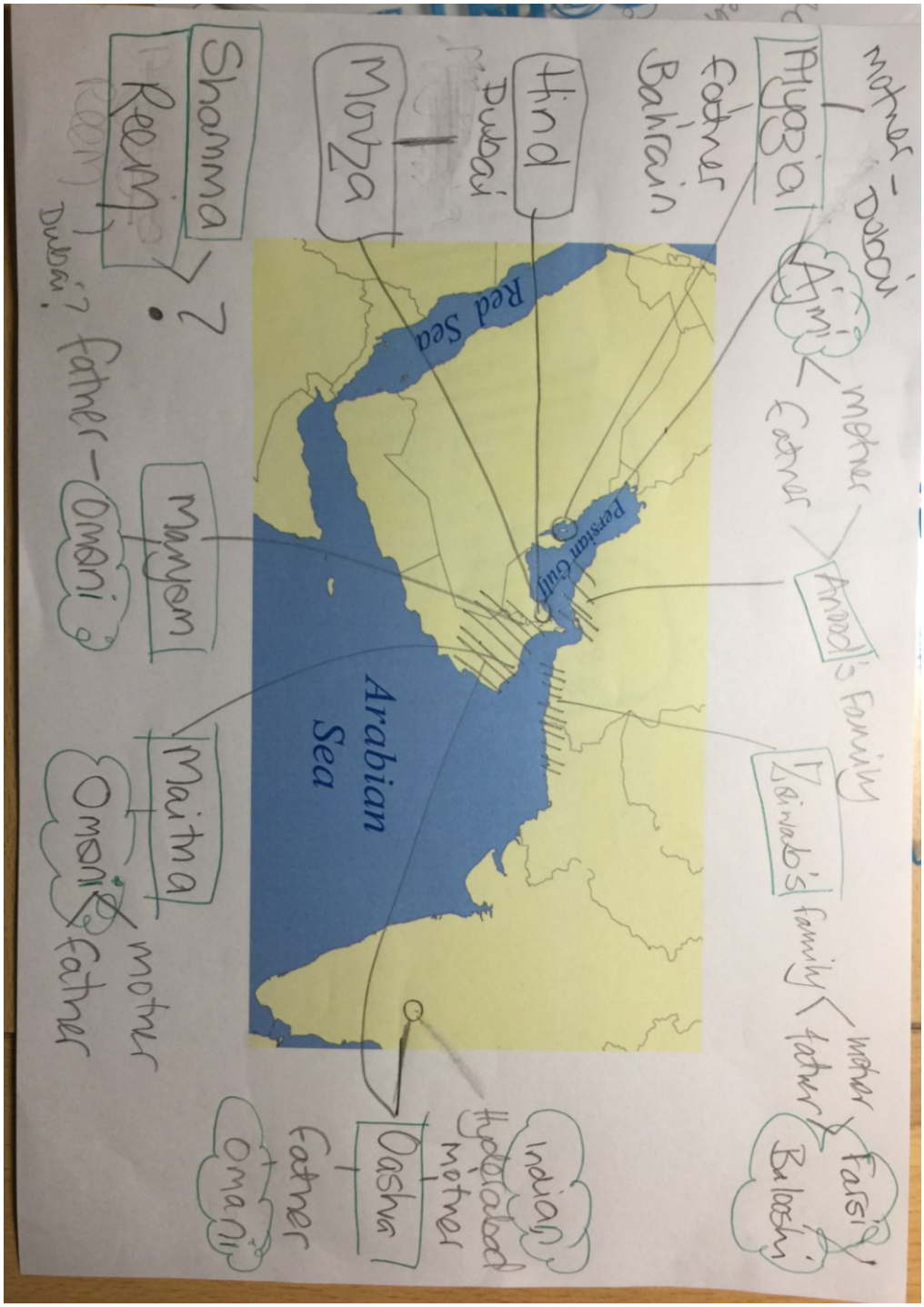
IDEAS
simmering resentment
① feeling of ambivalence towards identity / expats.
reluctance to accept
grudging acknowledgment
Manys Page 13
conflicting emotions
PRIDE ↔ SHAME
intolerance.
② FEELING OF being watched
surveillance
comes out in
negotiated
Hamdo
Ayesha
Manys

Appendix 10: Interregional Connections of Participants



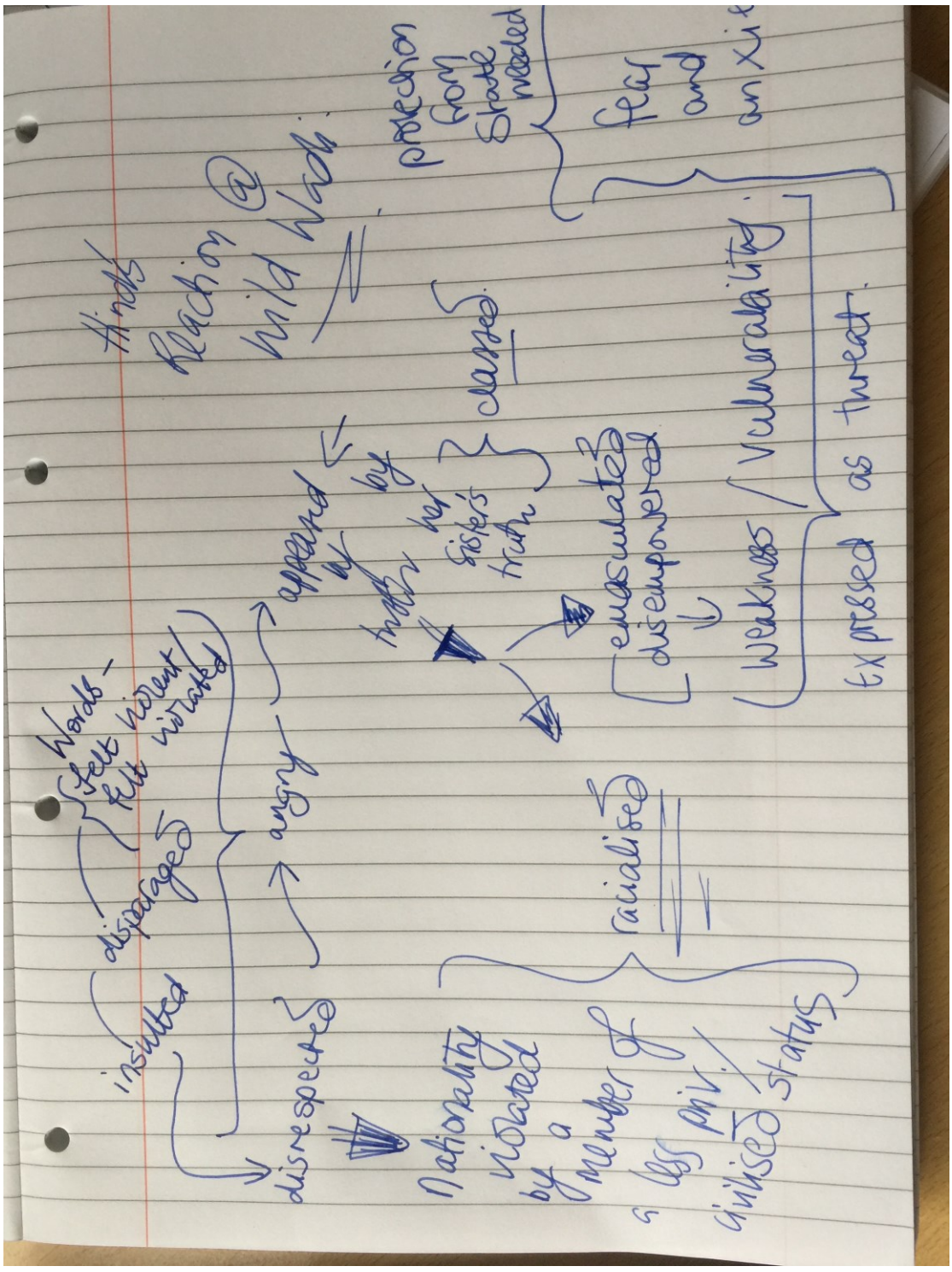
Appendix 11: Gentrification of Police Village Area

Before

During

After

Appendix 12: Analysis of Hind's Emotive Response at Wild Wadi



Appendix 13: Analysis - Emotional Fabric of Cultural Emotions